

THE
LIVES
 OF THE
Primitive FATHERS,

VIZ.

Clemens Alexandrinus,
 Eusebius, *Bishop of Cæsarea,*
 Gregory Nazianzen, *and*
 Prudentius, *the Christian Poet.*

Containing,
 An Impartial Account of their LIVES and
 WRITINGS: With their several Opinions
 about the Deity of Christ. Which may give
 some Light to the late Disputes concerning
 the Trinity.

WITH
 Many Curious OBSERVATIONS upon both.
 ALSO
 A short HISTORY of *Pelagianism.*

Written in *French*
 By Monsieur Le CLERC.
 Now done into *English.* K

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IS thought that the following Lives will not be Unacceptable to the Publick. The Author of 'em, who is well known by his Writings, justly complains, that those who have hitherto written the Lives of the Fathers, have not done it with such an Impartiality as is required from those who write for the sake of Truth. Indeed, it must be confest that Panegyricks of all sorts are very Numerous, and that a True and Faithful Account of the Lives and Doctrine of the Fathers

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thers is very Necessary. This Author will have it, that he hath distinguished himself from other Writers in his Lives of some Fathers, and professes a great Sincerity. This, I think, is more than sufficient to recommend the Reading of this Work.

But besides, it contains several Judicious Observations, and Critical Remarks upon the Lives and Opinions of the Fathers, very useful, especially to those who apply or design to apply themselves to that Study. I think that the Fathers were far from being Infallible, but I am none of those who despise the Study of their Writings. I confess, it doth not require a Dull and

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and Narrow-Spirited Reader,
who may grow the worse for it :
But an Ingenious and Judicious
one may make a good use of
it, as will appear by the follow-
ing Lives, which may also give
some Light to the late Disputes
concerning the Holy Trinity.

I shall further add, That the
Fathers, whose Lives Monsieur
Le Clerc hath written, are
some of the most Famous. Every
body knows that Clemens
Alexandrinus, and Euse-
bius Bishop of Cæsarea, were
very Learned Men ; and that
Gregory Nazianzen was
one of the greatest Orators the
Christians had in his time. Eu-
sebius having been much con-
cern'd

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cern'd in the Arian Disputes, it was necessary to give a large Account of those Controversies, which makes the Life of that Father so much the more Curious and Useful. In short, the Reader will find here the Lives of some of the most Celebrated Fathers who lived in the most famous Ages of Christianity, written with great Exactness and Impartiality; and they are, I think, sufficient to give a Notion of the Fathers.

I must not forget that Monsieur Le Clerc hath taken care to shew what Philosophy those Fathers did especially apply themselves to. This is a very Necessary Enquiry; and those that are not sensible of its Usefulness, will

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will be easily convinced of it, when they come to read the following Lives.

'Twas also thought fit to print the History of Pelagianism, tho' very short, together with these Lives; because several Gentlemen may be desirous to have in their own Tongue an Impartial Account of that Controversie, which formerly made so great a Noise in the Christian World.

ERRA.

ERRATA.

PAge 9. Line 9. read *Hypotyposes*; p. 10. l. 4. of the r. of those;
 p. 16. l. 28. r. *Stoicks*; p. 18. l. 28. r. *Invisible*; p. 32. l. 22.
 r. *Writings*; p. 50. l. 2. r. *Months*; p. 58. l. 4. r. *Pedagogue*;
 p. 64. l. 13. r. *Pamphilus*, (and so elsewhere;) p. 67. l. 6. r. *Year of*;
 p. 72. l. 27. perhaps, add *is*; p. 73. l. 24. for *οὐκ ἔστιν* r. *τοῦτο*; p. 78.
 l. 12. for contained r. *understood*; p. 79. l. 20. r. *those*; p. 81. l. 1.
in speaking, dele *in*; p. 84. l. 12. r. *gave*; p. 85. l. 10. r. *Διὶ*;
 p. 86. l. 2. r. *ἀγαθὸν*; p. 105. l. 29. r. *his Works*; p. 110. l. 7. dele *a*,
 and r. *sport of the*; *ibid.* l. 17. r. *Cordova*; p. 113. l. 2. r. *Lucian*;
 p. 117. l. 4. r. *Nicomedia*; p. 130. l. 4. r. *Eysantium*; p. 133. l. 7.
 r. *Licinius*; p. 135. l. 24. r. *fit to*; p. 137. l. 19. r. *ὀρατὴν*; p. 142.
 l. 18. r. *Ansenius*; p. 146. l. 16. r. *being come to*; p. 151. l. 9. r. *any*
thing else; p. 161. l. 18. r. *Personas*; *ibid.* l. 21. *evan*, add *signifies*;
 p. 167. l. 13. *there is*, add *in*; p. 173. l. 26. *undeniable*, add *Testi-*
mony; p. 176. l. 31. r. *Agina*; p. 183. l. 3. r. *patiently*; p. 193. l. 9.
 r. *Individuum's*; p. 207. l. 24. r. *used the Valentiniāns*; p. 212.
 l. 17. *related*, add *all*; p. 213. l. 17. r. *breaking into*; p. 220. l. 28.
 r. *seized*; p. 226. l. 26. r. *Protopopeia*; p. 234. l. ult. r. *acknow-*
ledged; p. 249. l. 9. r. *Judgment*; p. 254. l. 20. *Deity*, add *is*;
 p. 265. l. 20. r. *in a full*; p. 268. l. 24. dele *em*; p. 282. l. 19. r. *Pro-*
dicus; p. 283. l. 25. r. *such an Art*; p. 290. l. 17. r. *militia*;
 p. 292. l. 28. r. *Darkness*; p. 293. l. ult. r. *Mentem*; p. 295. l. 9.
 r. *Judicature*; p. 301. l. 2. r. *piceasque*; p. 304. l. 18. r. *ingeniously*;
 p. 305. l. 14. r. *perire*; p. 307. l. 23. *Ninivites*, add *were not*;
ibid. l. 27. r. *that People*; p. 312. l. 19. r. *Cyprians*; p. 313. l. 17.
 r. *foveis*; p. 317. l. 10. *Image*, add *was*; p. 321. l. 2. *Nature is*,
 add *of*; p. 321. l. 14. r. *Conditor*; p. 325. l. 19. r. *moras*; *ibid.*
 l. 21. r. *murmureth*; p. 326. l. 25. r. *it is*; p. 327. l. 7. r. *languerente*;
 p. 333. l. 12. *Quadrants*, r. *Tetrasticks*; *ibid.* l. 15. r. *whereof*;
 p. 336. l. 14. r. *Damietta*; p. 338. l. 27. dele *not*; p. 363. l. penult.
 r. *facultatum*; l. seq. r. *exilium*; p. 368. l. 1. r. *nullum*.

The

The Life

OF

Clemens Alexandrinus.

ALthough those that are able to read the *Fathers* in the Original Tongues, are but few; yet there are a great many who ought to have some Notions of their Lives and Writings, because they are now-a-days made use of in the Controversies which divide Christians. The Teachers of the *Church of Rome* omit nothing to make Men believe, that the Fathers were of their Opinion; because they believe, that it is not lawful to reject a Doctrine grounded upon the Testimony of the greatest part of the Fathers. When they quote a Passage, which they think to be agreeable to their Notions, they don't fail to say, *As a Holy Father said well.* But if One objects to them some

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words

words which they cannot well get rid of : They answer, That 'twas only his private Opinion ; and reject it as an Error.

The greatest part of the *Protestants* do not lay down the Consent of the Fathers, as a Principle of their Faith ; but as for the rest, many of their Authors seldom make any other use of them, when they cite 'em, than the *Roman Catholics*.

Hence it is, that in the Ecclesiastical Histories of both Parties, such Places as seem proper to confirm the Opinion and Practices received now-a-days amongst us, are carefully observed : Whereas such things as are thought to be Defective in their Conduct and Doctrine, are only mentioned by the bye. They persuade themselves that the Fathers, especially those of the First Centuries, held all the Opinions, which are lookt upon as Essential where they live ; and then they think themselves obliged to heap up Praises upon 'em ; and excuse, as much as they can, the Defects which are observed either in their Writings or Lives : So that instead of writing their History, they write, without being aware of it, their *Panegyrick* or *Apology*. Hence it is, that they who read such Books, believe that the Antients were Men of vast Learning, and extraordinary Holiness. From whence they conclude, that if they have ill treated
any

any Body, they must needs have had some great Reasons for it; and that they were far either from unfaithfully relating, or ill confuting the Opinions of Hereticks. They think themselves obliged to imitate their manner of Reasoning and Acting, without much troubling themselves whether it be agreeable to the Precepts of the Gospel, or not. Thus it comes to pass, that we have no Histories of the First Centuries, that are faithful enough; and do not make such a Use of those Histories as we ought to make.

I am far from thinking that I can cure so inveterate a Disease, nor is it the Design of this Work: But at least, I think my self obliged to avoid, as much as I can, the Way of those, who give the Publick Partial Panegyrics, when Sincere and Impartial Histories were expected from them. I have endeavoured to practice this in *The History of Pelagianism*,; and I shall yet endeavour to do it in the *Life of Clemens*, which I am going to write in few words.

TITUS FLAVIUS CLEMENS, famous for his Learning towards the End of the Second Century, was born at *Athens*, according to some Authors, who believe they can reconcile this Opinion with the Opinion of those who call him

The LIFE of

Alexandrinus, by saying that *Athens* was the Place of his Birth ; and that he got the Sirname of *Alexandrinus*, because of his long stay at *Alexandria*. But his Style, though florid enough, is often obscure and intricate, and doth not much relish the Neatness and Elegancy of the Athenian Writers. However, it is certain that he begun his Studies in *Greece*, continued them in *Asia*, and ended his days in *Egypt*.

It appears, that he was not content to be instructed only by one Master, but that he travelled much to hear many, and so to get a more exact and full knowledge of the Christian Religion, as well as to improve in Humane Learning. His Masters had been Disciples of the Apostles, or had conversed with some Disciples of those Holy Men, as it appears by his manner of speaking of them, though he doth not express himself very clearly.

* *Strom.*

l. i. p. 274.

Eusebius,

lib. 5. c. 11.

reads this

place some

what differ-

ently, upon

on which

Valesius

may be

consulted.

He says, ‘ * That his Writings, composed without Art, are an Image and a Picture of those lively Discourses of the Happy Men, and truly worthy of Esteem, whom he had the Honour to hear. The one (as he goes on) whom I saw in *Greece*, was of the *Ionick* Sect. I have seen two in *Calabria*, one of whom was a *Cælo-Syrian*, and the other an *Egyptian*. I met two more in the *East*, one of whom was an *Assyrian* ;

' *Affyrian* ; and the other, with whom I con-
 ' versed in *Palestine*, was of a Jewish Ex-
 ' traction : This latter was the first in Me-
 ' rit. I stay'd in *Egypt*, where he had hid
 ' himself, to look for him. He was, as the
 ' Proverb says, *A true Sicilian Bee*. He
 ' gathered the Flowers scattered (if one may
 ' so say) in the Meadows of the Writings
 ' of the Prophets and Apostles, by the
 ' means whereof he filled the Souls of those
 ' that heard him with a pure Knowledge.
 ' Those Men having preserved the true Tra-
 ' dition of the Blessed Doctrine, imme-
 ' diately after the Holy Apostles, *St. Peter*,
 ' *St. James*, *St. John*, and *St. Paul*, as a
 ' Child who keeps what he hath learned of
 ' his Father (*Although there are Few like*
 ' *them*) have lived to our time, by the
 ' Will of God, to shed into our Hearts the
 ' Seed which they had received of the
 ' Apostles their Predecessors.

'Tis of great moment to know what
 Master an Author had, to understand his
 Opinions right ; for then, as now-a-days,
 the Disciples did particularly stick to the
 Method of their Masters ; and explained
 Religion, as much as they could, accord-
 ing to the Principles of that Philosophy
 which they had learned of them. Thus
 the School-men, who were *Peripateticks*,
 explained Divinity by *Aristotle's Prin-*
 ciples ;

ciples ; and Divinity is handled after the *Cartesian* way, where *Des-Cartes* Philosophy is admitted.

Wherefore the Learned Men of our Age have endeavoured to guess, who were those of whom *Clemens* speaks. It appears, by my Translation of the words of that Father, that he had five Masters ; but *Valefius* allows him but four, because he follows the Reading of *Eusebius*. One can't positively affirm which is the best ; but I may say, that the Interpreters who took the word *Ἰωνικός* for a Proper Name, have done it without reason. 'Tis not likely that *Clemens*, who doth not tell the Names of the other, whom he acknowledges for his Masters, should name this. Antiquity affords no Man whose Name was *Ionick*, and that Name may denote the Sect of Philosophy to which that first Master of *Clemens* did especially apply himself. *Thales* and *Anaximander*, Philosophers of *Miletus*, a Town of *Ionia*, were the Heads of it.

Clemens Alexandrinus speaks well of those two Philosophers in his Writings : *Thales* (says he in one place) * was a Phænician, * *Strom.*
l. 1, p. 300. as *Leander* and *Herodotus* say. He is the only Man who seems to be conversant with the Egyptian Prophets, and we do not read that any one hath been his Master, &c. *Anaximander*, a *Milesian*, and Son of *Praxidamus*, succeeded

succeeded Thales, and had Anaximenes, Son of Eurystratus, a Milesian also, for his Successor. Anaxagoras of Clazomenes, Son of Hegesibulus, came after him ; he removed his Auditory from Ionia to Athens, and had Archelaus, Socrates's Master, for his Successor.

*Elsewhere he says, That Thales * being ^{* Strom.} askt what God is ? He answered, That which ^{l. 5. p. 595.} hath neither a Beginning nor an End. And that another having askt him, whether Men can hide their Actions from God ? How can that be, answered he, since they cannot so much as hide their Thoughts from him ?*

Speaking of Anaximander, Archelaus, and Anaxagoras, Philosophers of the same Sect, he says, That the former hath established † the Infinite for the First Being ; and that the other two said that the Spirit go- ^{† Admon. ad Gent. p. 43.} verned the Infinite.

The Principles of those Philosophers may be seen more at large in Diogenes Laertius : and one may easily perceive, that some of them do well enough agree with those of the Jews and Christians ; as, That whatever is upon the Earth came out of the Water ; That the Night was before the Day ; That most Men are Wicked ; That to live Justly, we must not do what we blame in others ; That Heaven is our true Native Country, &c. 'Tis not therefore incredible,

that a Philosopher of that Sect should have embraced Christianity, and been the first Master of *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

All that can be said against it, is, that the Succession of the Philosophers of the *Ionick* Sect ended in *Archelaus*, Master of *Socrates*. But although there were no Masters of that Philosophy, who did immediately succeed one another; yet it doth not follow but there might be some Philosophers, in several places, who followed the Opinions of *Thales*, and his first Disciples. Thus *Dio- genes Laertius* says, in his *Preface*, that the *Italick* Sect, of which *Pythagoras* was the Head, ended in *Epicurus*; although there hath been some *Pythagorean* Philosophers many Ages after *Epicurus*. No Body ought to wonder that we should say, that a Christian follow'd a certain Sect of Philosophy, because it is only to be understood inasmuch as he thought it agreeable to Christianity. Thus *Justin Martyr* was a *Platonick*; and *Pantæus*, *Clemens's* Master, * was a *Stoick*.

* *Euseb.*
l. 5. c. 10.

The Name of the second, whom he saw in *Great Greece*, or *Calabria*, is altogether

† *Vales. ad* unknown. Some † believe that the *Assy-*
Euseb. *rian* was *Tatianus*, a Philosopher and

‖ *Baron. ad* Disciple of *Justin Martyr*; and others, ‖ *Bar-*
Ann. 185. *desanes* of *Edessus* in *Syria*, who had been

Clemens Alexandrinus.

a *Valentinian*, and never wholly laid aside the Opinions of that Sect.

As for him who was of *Jewish* Origin, some believe he might be *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, although History doth not say that he descended from *Jewish* Parents. Wherefore, others conjecture that he was one *Theodotus*, whose Doctrine *Clemens Alexandrinus* had expounded in his *Hypotyposes*, or *Institutions of the Christian Religion*; from whence it is that the Abridgment of that Work, which is to be found at the end of *Clemen's* Works, is intituled *Extracts of the Eastern Doctrine of Theodotus*. But some ascribe those Extracts to *Theodotus Byzantinus*, a Currier by Trade, but a learned Man, who was Excommunicated by Pope *Victor*, in the Year CXCIV. because he taught, that Christ was but a meer Man.

Lastly: The last of *Clemens's* Masters, whom he prefers before all the other, and to whom he applied himself, was *Pantænus*. *Eusebius* is of opinion, that *Clemens* means Him, in the latter part of that Passage which I have cited out of him. Indeed, *Pantænus* taught in *Egypt*, when *Clemens* settled himself there; and this latter called him his Master * in his *Hypotyposes*.

* *Eusebi*
l. 5. c. 11.

Pantænus's Native Countrey and Parents are not known; but 'tis certain that he applied

plied himself much to the Study of Philosophy, especially that of the *Stoicks*, perhaps being moved with the severe Manners and Maxims of the Philosophers, which did well enough agree with those of the Ancient Christians.

*Vid. Euseb.
l. 5. c. 10.
& Hieron.
in Script.
Eccl.

There had been * long before, nay, if some Authors are to be believ'd, ever since St. Mark the Evangelist, a Publick School at *Alexandria*, where the *Catechumeni* were taught; which Employment was bestowed only upon Men of Learning, and an Exemplary Life. *Pantæus* was entrusted with it, and taught a long time in that City, *Viva Voce*, and by Writing. He wrote some Commentaries upon the Scripture, of which there are only some words extant

† Clemens.
p. 808.

† in the *Extracts of the Eastern Doctrine of Theodotus*, wherein *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks thus: Our *Pantæus* says, that the Prophets do commonly express themselves by the Aorist, and use the Present Tense instead of the Future and Preterit Tenses.

'Tis likely that *Pantæus* was a *Catechist*, when *Clemens* came to *Egypt*; and that he studied some time under him, before he succeeded him. He applied himself there, as he did elsewhere, to the Study of Philosophy, although he was far from taking for Philosophers All those that went by that Name. ¶ We do not (says he) indifferently

¶ Strom.
l. 1. p. 315.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

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ferently receive All manner of Philosophy, but that only of which Socrates says in Plato;
"The same thing which is observed in My-
steries, is also to be found in Philosophy;
"Many carry the Thyrsus, but Few are
"truly inspired with the Spirit of Bacchus.
Socrates did thereby obscurely intimate, That
Many are Called, but Few Elected: For af-
terwards he adds, That the Latter are, in
his Judgment, those who have applied them-
selves to Philosophy as they ought to do.

Clemens would not stick wholly to any Sect, lest he should take for Philosophers such as perhaps had only the Out-side of 'em, but followed that manner of Philosophising which was then call'd *Eclectic*, that is to say, the Method of those, who chose, out of all the Opinions of the Philosophers, those which seem'd the most rational to them, and made a System of them for their Private Use. * *Potamon of Alexan-*
dria, who liv'd in the time of Augustus,
 was the first that practis'd that manner of Philosophising. Clemens could not chuse a more commodious One for a Christian Philosopher, because there is not one Philosopher of whom all the *Dogmata* are agreeable to the Gospel; although a System, that will come up very near to that of the Christian Doctrine, may be made by collecting out of All the Philosophers what they said agreeably

* Vid. *La-*
ertium in
Proem. &
Suidam.

agreeably to the Light of Nature, or some ancient Traditions current almost through the whole World.

Clemens himself teaches us thus much; and assures us, that he applied himself to the *Eclectic* Philosophy, for the same Reason that I have alledged. Having said, That God had sent Philosophy to Men; * *Strom.* * he adds, ' That he means neither that of *LI. p.288.* ' the *Stoicks*, nor that of the *Platonicks*, nor ' that of the *Aristotelians*. But (says he) I ' give that Name to the Truths which those ' Sects have maintained, and which may ' lead to Justice and Piety. I don't call the ' False Opinions of Men, Divine Things. † *P. 299.* He says elsewhere, † ' That the *Barbarian* ' and the *Greek* Philosophy took the Frag- ' ments of the Eternal Truths which it con- ' tains, not out of *Bacchus's* *Mythology*, but ' from the *Reason* which did always exist. ' He that would join again, what hath been ' divided, and would make a Private System ' out of it, might be sure of Knowing the ' Truth.

A like Thought is to be met with in *Lac-*
 || *Inst. l. 6.* *tantius*, who assures us, || ' That it is an
 c. 7. ' easie thing to shew that the Whole Truth
 ' was divided among the several Sects of
 ' Philosophers; and if any one would col-
 ' lect the Truths scatter'd among the Sects,
 ' and gather them into One Body, he would
 ' not

‘not certainly disagree from the Christians. *Quod si extitisset aliquis, qui veritatem sparsam per singulos per sectasque diffusam colligeret in unum ac redigeret in corpus, is profectò non dissentiret à nobis.*

Afterwards he says, That no Body could do it, but by a Divine Revelation ; but that if it should happen, as it were by chance, that any one did it without that help, nothing would be more certain than that Philosophy : and although he could not defend himself by the Authority of Revelation, Truth would maintain it self only by its own Light.

Afterwards he blames those who stick to One Sect, so as to embrace all its Opinions, and condemn all other Sects, being ready to dispute against all the Doctrines which they have not learned of their Masters. That Design, of collecting whatever the Philosophers said that was agreeable to the Gospel, is undoubtedly a fine one, and may very much conduce to convince Men of the Truth of the Christian Religion. But to do it successfully, 'tis necessary to understand both Philosophy and the Christian Religion well, and to confine one's self to clear and undeniable Articles, such as those that are *Practical*, and some few *Speculative* ones. The Heterodox of that time had introduced into the Christian

Christian Religion, for want of Consideration, an infinite number of Philosophical Doctrines, which have no relation with those of the Gospel.

* *Strom.*
l. 3. p. 430.

Thus the *Carpocratians* * believed, as *Clemens* testifies, That it was lawful to Lie promiscuously with all Women; and did actually do it, when they had supp't in a great Company, and put out the Candles. They fell into this Conceit, because *Plato* would have Women to be Common in his Commonwealth; and because they had wrested several Places of the Scripture, to make them agree with that Opinion. But *Clemens* is of opinion, that they understood neither the Scripture nor *Plato* well. This latter meant only this, he thinks, That there should be no Maid in the Commonwealth, but to whom All the Citizens might indifferently pretend; although if she had been Betrothed to any Man, others could no more hope to Marry her. I could easily shew, that *Clemens* doth not explain well *Plato's* Meaning, if this was a fit place for it.

† *Ibid.* p.
431, &
465, &
seq.

The *Marcionites*, † who said that Matter and Nature are Bad, and condemn'd Marriage, came by their Opinion, so contrary to that of *Carpocrates*, by Explaining some Passages of Scripture, by the *Platonick* Principles. Because the Scripture often describes

scribes the Miseries of this World, and praises Continency, they fancied that the Sacred Writers had the same Notions of this Life and Generation, or Birth, that *Heraclitus* and *Plato* had. Those Philosophers believed, that the Souls did exist before the Bodies, into which they are sent only to be punished for the Sins which they had committed in another Life: So that, to speak properly, Birth should be called *Death*, rather than a Beginning of Life; and *Death* *Life*, because when we are born, our Souls are thrown into the Prison of the Body, out of which they are set at liberty when we die. Hence it is that those Philosophers, and many Poets after 'em, said, That 'twas better not to be born, than to come into the World; and to die in Childhood, than to live many Years. Hence it is also, that some times they speak vehemently enough against the Use of Marriage; because, in their opinion, it did only conduce to build a Prison for some Unfortunate Soul, which was thrown into the Body that was produced.

The *Valentinians* had also learned what they said concerning the Generation of their *Æones*, of *Hesiod*, as it will appear by comparing the Beginning of his *Theogonia* with the Doctrine of the *Valentinians*, as it is reported by *St. Irenæus* and *St. Epiphanius*,
who

who do not fail to upbraid them with their having taken their Doctrine from that Poet. 'Tis likely they confounded *Hesiod's* Doctrine with that of the Holy Scripture, because of some small resemblance that is between 'em. I could easily shew, that *Hesiod*, by the Marriages between the *Chaos*, *Darkness*, *Light*, *Heaven*, *Earth*, *Air*, &c. meant only, that there is some Relation or Connexion between the Things which he joins, and that 'twas this that gave him occasion to Marry them together: But my Business is only to shew, by the Example of the ancient Hereticks, that the Primitive Christians made a great use of the Heathen Philosophy, and that many have perverted it, as *Clemens* hath observed in several places.

As for him, although he profess to follow the Method of the *Eclecticks*, and take out of every Sect what he thought fit; yet he was more enclined to the *Stoick* Philosophy, because *Pantænus* his last Master, and whom he esteemed most, as we have seen, preferred that Sect before others. Wherefore 'tis observed, that *Clemens* hath a close and harsh Style, and that he affects some Paradoxes, and to use New Words; Characters whereby the *Stoick*, and those that studied in their Schools, were known. *Stoicorum* (says

* In *Bruto*,
c. 31.

* *Tully*) *adstrictior est oratio, aliquantòque*

contractior quàm aures populi requirunt.

* *Nova verba fingunt, deserunt usitata: at* ^{* De Fin. lib. 4.} *quanta conantur? Mundam hunc omnem op-*

pidum esse unum, &c. Pungunt quasi aculeis, interrogatiunculis angustis. Those that under-

stand Greek, and have read something of *Clemens*, may have easily observed all

this in his *Stile*. There are many *Paradoxes* in his *Pædagogus*; for instance, he

maintains (*Book 3. Chap. 6.*) *That none but a Christian is Rich.* A *Paradox* much like

that of the *Stoicks*, who said the same thing of their *Wise Man*. Those *Philosophers* express

themselves thus; *Ὅτι μόνον σοφὸς πλέσιον*, *That the Wise Man only is Rich:* And *Clemens*

made no other *Alteration* in it, but that of *Σοφὸς, Wise Man*, into *Χριστιανός, a Christian*. The

Reasons which he makes use of to prove his *Affertion*, are not very different neither from

those of the *Stoicks*, as may be seen by comparing what he says with *Cicero's* *Explication*

of that *Stoical Maxim*, in his *Paradoxes*.

The *Study* of *Heathen Authors* produced in *Clemens* milder *Thoughts* with

respect to them, than those which *Christians* have had since. He observes in many

places, † *That whatever they say, is not false:* And cites, to prove it, *St. Paul's* ^{† *Stroin.* l. 1. p. 314.}

Discourse to the *Athenians*, *Act. 17.* where that *Apostle* tells 'em, *That he preaches to*

them the same God, to whom they had
C erected

erected an Altar, with this Inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD ; the same God of whom *Aratus* had said, that *We are his Off-spring*. *Clemens* believes, that *Sr. Paul* approved what was Good in the Inscription of that Altar, and in those words of *Aratus* ; and gave 'em only a clearer Knowledge of the True God, whom they already perceived, without knowing Him well. He elsewhere * quotes a Book which was ascribed to *St. Peter*, and was entituled, ΚΗΡΥΤΜΑ ΠΙΕΤΡΟΥ, *The Preaching of St. Peter*. It appears, that *Clemens* made no doubt but that Book was *St. Peter's* : From whence one may conjecture, that there was nothing in it that was inconsistent with the Orthodox Opinions of that time ; and that, if we had it, we might look upon it as the Work of a Good Christian. The Place which *Clemens* quotes out of it, is too remarkable to be omitted here, since we may know from it what many Antients, who have not been charged with Idolatry, thought of the Heathens : ' Know that ' there is but One God (said *St. Peter* in ' that Book) who gave a Beginning to ' All Things, and is able to make 'em End ; ' who is Invisible, and seeth all things ; ' who is shut up within no Bounds, and ' contains all things ; who wants nothing, ' and whom all things stand in need of, ' since

* *Strom.*
1.6. p. 635.

‘ since they exist by Him ; who is Incom-
‘ prehensible, Eternal, and Incorruptible ;
‘ who was not made, but made all things
‘ by his Powerful Word, that is, by his Son,
‘ according to the Spiritual Interpretation
‘ put upon the Scripture. *Afterwards he*
‘ *adds (as Clemens goes on,) Worship that*
‘ *God, not as the Greeks do, because Honest*
‘ *Men among the Greeks Worship’d the same*
‘ *God with us, but without perfectly knowing*
‘ *Him as those who have received the Do-*
‘ *ctrine of his Son. He doth not say, Do*
‘ *not worship the God whom the Greeks*
‘ *worship ; but, Do not worship him as the*
‘ *Greeks do, changing only the Manner of*
‘ *the Worship, but preaching no other God :*
‘ *He himself explains what he means, adding,*
‘ *For being led by their Ignorance, and not*
‘ *knowing God as perfectly as we do, they*
‘ *make Statues of those things which God*
‘ *gave them for their use, viz. Wood, Stone,*
‘ *Copper, Iron, Gold and Silver ; and in-*
‘ *stead of employing those things for their*
‘ *use, they themselves worship ’em. Be-*
‘ *sides, they worship Beasts, which God*
‘ *gave them for their Food, the Birds of the*
‘ *Air, the Fishes of the Sea, the Creeping*
‘ *Creatures of the Earth, Wild and Four-*
‘ *footed Beasts, as well as Weasels, Rats,*
‘ *Dogs and Monkeys. They sacrifice to*
‘ *Men, what they should eat ; and offering*

' Dead Things to the Dead, as to Gods,
 ' they prove Ungrateful to the True God,
 ' and so deny his Existence. *And that it*
 ' *may appear that We and the Greeks Know*
 ' *the True God, though in a different manner,*
 ' *he goes on thus ;* Worship not God neither
 ' as the Jews ; for fancying that They only
 ' know God, they do not perceive that they
 ' worship Angels and Archangels, the
 ' Months, and the Moons ; for if the Moon
 ' does not appear, they do not observe the
 ' Sabbath which they call *First*, nor the
 ' New Moon, nor the Days of Unleavened
 ' Bread, nor any Holy Day. *Lastly, he*
 ' *concludes, saying ;* As for you, Learn the
 ' Just and Holy Doctrine which we teach
 ' you ; observe it, and worship God after
 ' a new manner, through Jesus Christ. For
 ' we read in the Scripture, that God said,
 ' I make a New Covenant with you, diffe-
 ' rent from that which I made with your
 ' Fathers upon Mount *Horeh*. He hath
 ' given us a New Covenant ; for both that
 ' of the Jews and Greeks is old ; and We,
 ' who worship him after a Third and New
 ' manner, are Christians. *He clearly shews*
 ' *(as Clemens adds) That one and the same*
 ' *God was known to the Greeks, after the man-*
 ' *ner of the Heathens ; to the Jews, after*
 ' *the Jewish manner ; and to Us, after a New*
 ' *and Spiritual manner. He shews further,*
 ' *That*

' That the same God who gave the Two Cove-
 ' nants, is He who gave Philosophy to the
 ' Greeks, by which the Almighty is glorified
 ' amongst 'em, &c. As God was pleased to
 ' save the Jews, by giving them some Pro-
 ' phets; so he hath raised among the Greeks
 ' the most Honest Men, whom he hath di-
 ' stinguish'd from the Vulgar, according as they
 ' were capable of receiving his Benefits, to
 ' perform the part of PROPHETS amongst
 ' 'em in their own Tongue. We learn this
 ' not only from St. Peter's Preaching, but also
 ' from St. Paul, when he says, Take some
 ' Greek Books acknowledge that the Sybil
 ' teaches but One God, and the Things that
 ' are to come. ' Read *Hydaspes*, and you'll
 ' find that he hath writ much more clearly
 ' concerning the Son of God; and that he
 ' said, that many Kings would arm them-
 ' selves against Jesus Christ, that they would
 ' hate him, and those that are called by his
 ' Name, &c. As the Preaching of the Gospel
 ' came in its time, so the Law and the Pro-
 ' phets were given to the Barbarians in their
 ' time, and Philosophy to the Greeks, which
 ' accustoms the Ears to the Preaching of the
 ' Gospel. Clemens speaks after the same manner
 ' in several other places; and testifies clearly
 ' enough, that *Philosophy* * was among the * Vid. Ca-
 ' Greeks, what Prophecy was among the He. sab. Exer-
 ' brews; and that God hath always given App. Baron.
 ' equally

equally to all Men the Means necessary to be saved : Which was also the Opinion of several other Greek Fathers.

Clemens therefore believed that the *Greeks* had no good Doctrine but what they took from the *Barbarians*, especially from the *Jews*, and the Sacred Books, which he endeavours to prove in a thousand places ; and 'tis well known, that it was the common Opinion of the Fathers, who undertook to censure the Philosophy of the *Greeks*. The *Jews* said also the same thing, as it appears from a Passage of *Aristobolus* a *Peripatetick*, who is said to have been Tutor to *Ptolemy Philometor*, and who speaks thus : ' *Plato* did also follow our Laws, ' and hath shewed, that he had studied them ' well. Now before *Demetrius's* time, nay, ' before the Empire of *Alexander*, and that ' of the *Persians*, they were translated by ' others (*than the Septuagint*) as well as the ' History of what happen'd to the Hebrews, ' our Fellow-Citizens, at their departure ' from *Egypt*, of what remarkable things ' they did and saw ; and how they took ' possession, by their strength, of the Land ' of *Canaan* ; and how the whole Law was ' given : so that it is manifest, that the ' Philosopher whom I have mention'd, took ' several things from it ; for he was a Man ' of great Learning, as well as *Pythagoras*, ' who

' who hath inserted several of our Opinions
' into his Doctrine. But this Author is
suspected, for several Reasons ; and being
the only Man who hath mention'd a Tran-
slation made before the Empire of the *Per-
sians*, one may justly doubt whether this
is not a Jewish Fable. However, it ap-
pears, that in the time of this Author, whe-
ther he be Genuine or Supposititious, the
Jews charged the Heathens with having stoln
the best things they had out of the Holy
Books.

'Tis very likely that the Greeks had learnt
many things of the Eastern Nations, as of
the Egyptians and Babylonians ; for they
themselves * confess it. But if this Matter * *vid. Dio-
gen. Laert.
Proem. &
ad illud
Intt.*
was fully examined, one might perhaps
find, that many things were clearly spoken
of in *Greece*, before the Jews spoke of 'em
after the same manner ; and that the latter
began to express themselves as the Greeks
only since they conversed with them. I
could alledge some Proofs of this Con-
jecture, at least, as strong as all those which
the Fathers have alledged to prove the con-
trary. But because I should too much wan-
der from the chief Subject in hand, I shall
not undertake this Matter. Perhaps, some
time or other, I shall publish a Dissertation
about it.

I had rather observe here, That although *Clemens* doth often charge the Greek Philosophers with Theft; yet he believed that God had given them part of their Knowledge by the Ministry of Inferior Angels, whereas he instructed the Christians by the Ministry of his Son. * The Lord of all

* *Strom.*

l. 7. p. 702.

Men, of the Greeks as well as the Barbarians, persuades those that will believe in Him: For he doth not force him to receive Salvation, who may chuse and do what is in his power, to embrace the Hope which God offers him. 'Tis He who gives Philosophy to the Greeks, by the Ministry of *Inferior Angels*, † (*Διὰ τῶν ὑποδεστέρων Ἀγγέλων.*) For the Angels have

† *Ibid.* l. 1.

p. 309.

been long ago dispersed among the Nations, by the Command of God; but the Opinion of those that Believe, is the Gift of the Lord. Afterwards he proves at large, in the same place, that God is the Saviour of the Heathens, as well as the Jews.

As to the Ministry of Angels, to reveal Philosophy to the Greeks, *Clemens*, and those who have been of the same Opinion, came by it partly by reason of what *Socrates* said concerning his *Dæmon*, who warned him of several things, and of whom || *Clemens* seems to speak, in such terms as may make one believe that he was persuaded that *Socrates* spake

* *Ibid.* l. 1.

p. 311, &

334.

spake the Truth. And this agrees well enough with the Opinion of the same Father, and several others, who believed, after several Heathen Philosophers, that every Man had a Tutelar Angel, who might sometimes advize him.

After what hath been said, 'tis no wonder that Clemens should ascribe a kind of Prophecy * to *Plato*, especially if it be considered, that the words of that Philosopher suit *Jesus Christ* so well, that the Condition which the Saviour of the World was reduced to, when he was nailed to the Cross, can scarce be better described now. He † describes a Perfect Vertue; and says that one might bestow that Name upon the Vertue of a Just Man, who yet should be accounted a Wicked, for being a strict Observer of Justice; and who, notwithstanding the ill Opinion which the World should have of him, would walk on in the way of Vertue even to Death, *although he should be Whipt, although he should suffer several Torments, and be kept in Chains; although his Eyes should be burnt out with a red-hot Iron; although he should be exposed to all sorts of Misery, and at last be Crucified.*

However, Clemens did not equal the Heathen Philosophy to the Doctrine of Christ. He acknowledges, that before his coming into

* Ibid. l. 5.
p. 601.

† De Rep.
l. 2, p. 423.
ed. Ficini.

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l. 7. p. 702.

† *Ibid. l. i.*
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p. 311, &
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into the World, it was only, as it were, a Degree and Preparation to Christianity; and that the Philosophers could only be lookt upon as Children, if compared to the Christians. He thought that *Faith* was Necessary, since the Gospel had been published through the whole World. * The Saviour (*says he*) having given his Commands to the *Barbarians*, and Philosophy to the *Greeks*, hath shut up Unbelief until his Coming; in which time, whosoever doth not believe in Him, is without Excuse.

* Strom.

1.7. p. 704.

2.1. b. d. i.

.100.

All the Books of *Clement* are full of these Sentiments; and he defends them every where so clearly, and so fully, that it plainly appears, that in his time those Opinions were not (at least so commonly) lookt upon as dangerous; for it is not likely that they would have made him a Catechist, after his Master *Pantenus*, or bestowed so many Praises upon him, as they have done since, if he had been lookt upon as a Man infected with dangerous Opinions. *St. Eusebius* maintained the same thing, concerning the Salvation of Heathens, in his 38th. *Hom.* upon *St. Matthew*.

'Twas necessary to observe, in few words, these Opinions of *Clement*; because, without it, several places of his Writings cannot be understood; and because 'twas upon this account

account that he kept whatever he thought to be Rational in the Doctrine of the Heathens, rejecting only what seem'd to him False, or inconsistent with the Doctrines of the Gospel, or what had been blamed by Christ and his Apostles. Thus All the Greek Philosophers, even those who were for a Fate, having believed that Men are Free by their Nature, and can abstain from doing Evil, as they are able to apply themselves to Vertue: And Christ and his Apostles having not undertaken to take them off from this Opinion, *Clemens* openly maintains, That Men have a liberty of Doing Evil, or Abstaining from it. * *Neither* * *Strom.*
Praises (says he) *nor Censures, nor Rewards* l. i. p. 311.
nor Punishments are Just, if the Soul hath not the power of Sinning or not Sinning, and if Sin is Unvoluntary. The Pagans knew nothing of what was called since, *Original Sin*: And *Clemens* observing, that the Sacred Writers do not upbraid the Heathens with their Ignorance in this Matter; nor teach them, that even New-born Children deserve the Fire of Hell; he denies that Children are any ways corrupted. The before-mentioned Hereticks, who condemn'd Marriage, said, amongst other Reasons, That Men did only thereby bring Polluted Children into the World. † since *David* † *Ibid. l. 3.*
says of himself (*Psal. 51.*) *That he was* p. 468, 469.
conceived

conceived in Sin, and shapen in Iniquity. And Job maintains (chap. 14. ver. 4, 5.) That none is free from Pollution, even though he should live but one Day. Hereupon Clemens exclaims thus; Let them tell us how a Child new-born hath sinned; or, how he who hath done nothing yet, is fallen under Adam's Curse. Afterwards, he explains that Passage of David, as if the Prophet had meant only, that he was descended from Eve, who was a Sinner.

It must be further observed, That a Man with such a Disposition of Mind, could scarce avoid believing that the Philosophers were of the same Opinion with the Apostles, as soon as he perceived some Likeness between their Terms. Thus Plato having spoken of the Three Chief Deities whom he acknowledged (* as I shall shew elsewhere) in Terms like those that were used by the Primitive Christians, speaking of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; Clemens believed that the Doctrine of that Philosopher was the same with that of the Christians. I think

* In the Life of Eusebius.

† Strom. l. 5. p. 598.

(says † he) that Plato understood nothing else by it but the Holy Trinity; and that the Third Being mention'd by him, is the Holy Spirit, as the Second is the Son, by whom all things were made according to his Father's Will. Wherefore, when he speaks of Christ's Divinity, he doth not describe

scribe it otherwise than the Platonicks did the *Reason*. * The Nature of the Son * *Strom.*

' (lays he) is the most Perfect, the most *L. 5. p. 598.*

' Holy ; that which hath the greatest share

' in the Empire and Government, and the

' most like Him who only is Almighty.

' 'Tis that Excellent Nature which governs

' all things according to the Father's Will,

' which Rules the World well, which Acts

' by an Unexhausted and Unwearied Power,

' and which sees the most secret Thoughts.

' The Son of God never leaves the Post

' from which he sees all things : He is nei-

' ther divided nor separated ; he doth not

' go from one place to another ; he is

' every where, and is confin'd within no

' Bounds. All Spirit, All Paternal Light,

' All Eye ; he sees all things, understands

' all things, knows all things, and dives

' by his Power, into the Powers themselves.

' To that Paternal Reason, who hath re-

' ceived that Holy Administration, the

' whole Army of Angels and GODS is

' subjected, because of Him who put them

' under him.

Clemens had another Opinion concerning the Humane Nature of Christ ; which perhaps he entertained, lest he should make the Body of Christ inferior to that of the Gods of *Homer*. The Gods of that Poet,

† neither ate Bread, nor drank Wine. And † *Iliad. 1.*

our *vers. 342.*

* *Pad. l. 1.* Our Lord, according to * *Clemens*, needed
p. 202. no Milk when he came into the World,
 and was not nourished with Meat, which
 he took only out of Condescension, and
 which did not undergo the same Change in
 his Body, which it does in ours. Hence it
 is, that † *Origen* his Disciple believed that
 Christ had no Blood, but a *Liquor* like that
 which *Homer* ascribes to his Gods, and
 calls *IXOR*.

† *Vid. Diff.*
P. Allix. de
Sanguine
Christi.

Plato says, in several places, that God
 inflicts no Punishment upon Men, but for
 their Good, and not at all out of meer
 Vengeance. Which || *Clemens* observes, so
 as to make one believe that he approves it.
 || *Pad. l. 1.* *Plato* said further, That the Souls are
 purged with Fire in another Life; and that
 after they have been purged, they are re-
 stored to their former state. * *Clemens* be-
 lieved that the Apostles had the same
 Thoughts, when they spake of a Fire which
 is to consume the World. And † *Origen* his
 Disciple concluded from those Principles,
 That the Devils and Damn'd Men should
 be one day delivered from their Sufferings.

|| *Pad. l. 1.*
p. 116. &
Strom. l. 4.
p. 536.

* *Strom. l. 5.*
p. 549, 592.

† *Vid. Huet.*
Orig. l. 2.
quest. 11.

The Apostles describe the Place wherein
 Wicked Men shall be tormented, under the
 Notion of a Lake of Fiery Brimstone: They
 use the same word with the Pagans, to de-
 note the State of the Souls after Death,
viz. AΔHΣ: They say, that Men descend
 into

into it, and that Christ descended into it. This was enough to make *Clemens* exclaim thus : ‘ * What ? was *Plato* ignorant of the * P. 592.
 ‘ Rivers of Fire, and the Depth of the
 ‘ Earth, which the Barbarians call *Gebenna*,
 ‘ and which he Prophetically (*προφητικῶς*)
 ‘ named *Tartarus* ? He hath mention’d
 ‘ *Cocytus*, *Acheron*, *Pyriphlegethon*, and
 ‘ such like Places where Wicked Men are
 ‘ punish’d, that they may be mended. *Clemens*
 did also believe, with most of the Ancient
 Fathers, † That Christ did really descend into † *Strom.*
Hell, and preached there to the Damned l. 6. p. 637,
 Souls, of which he saved those that would & seq.
 believe in Him.

I could alledge many other Instances, whereby it would appear, that *Clemens* explained the Opinions of the Christians, by the like Doctrines which he found in the Philosophers. But the before-mentioned Examples will suffice to those who have neither Time nor the Means to read that Author. Those who will consult the Original, will find enough of themselves.

One may further learn one thing from thence, which most of those who apply themselves to the reading of the Fathers, do not much mind ; and without which, ’tis almost impossible to understand them well, in an infinite number of places : viz. That before One begins seriously that Study,

Study, the Heathen Philosophers, especially *Plato*, must be carefully read. Without this, One can't well apprehend what Grounds they go upon, nor successfully examine the strength of their Reasonings, nor guess how they came by so many Opinions that are so different from those which are now entertained in our Schools.

Now to return to the Life of *Clemens*: The Antients do unanimously say that he succeeded *Pantænus* in the Office of *Catechist*. He performed it with success; and many Great Men came out of his School, as *Origen*, and *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

His Method of Instructing the *Catechumeni*, consisted in teaching them what was Good in the Heathen Philosophy, and so leading them by degrees to Christianity; which they more readily embraced, when they had relished many of those Maxims derived from the Light of Nature, and scatter'd in the Writing of the Philosophers, whom they saw every Body had a great Respect for, than if they had been roughly told, that they ought to renounce all their Opinions, and look upon the rest of Mankind, not only as Men that were guilty of Error, but that had said nothing that was
True.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

33

True. * * As Plow-men do not cast the * *Ström.*
Seed into the Ground, but when they *l. i. p. 278.*
have watered it ; so (says *Clemens*) we
draw out of the Writings of the Grecians,
wherewith to water what is earthly in
those whom we instruct, that they may
afterwards receive the Spiritual Seed, and
be able to make it easily spring forth.

In effect, the Light of the Gospel supposes that of Nature, and doth not destroy it. We don't find that Christ and his Apostles undertook to give us a compleat System of all the Doctrines that have some relation with Religion ; they supposed that we were already provided with several Thoughts received in all Nations, upon which they reasoned : else they should have, for Example, exactly defined all Virtues, which they have not done, because they found in the Minds of all Men some *Idea's*, which, though imperfect, yet were most true. So that they were content to add what was wanting in them, or to take from them what ill Customs might have unfitly added to 'em.

Besides the Office of *Catechist*, *Clemens* was promoted to the Priesthood, in the Beginning, as 'tis thought, of the Empire of *Severus* ; because *Eusebius*, writing the Events of the Year CXCIV. gives *Clemens* the Title of *Priest*. About that time he

D

began

began to defend the Christian Religion against Heathens and Hereticks, by a Work which he entitled *Stromata*, of which I shall speak hereafter; because in that Work, according to a Chronological Supputation, he doth not go higher than the Death of *Commodus*: From whence † *Eusebius* concluded, that he compiled it under the Empire of *Severus*, who succeeded that Emperor.

* Lib. 1.

pag. 336.

† Lib. 6.
cap. 6.

¶ Vid. Dod-
wel. Diff.
Cyp. XI.
S. 41, &
seq.

Severus being exasperated against the Christians. ¶ perhaps because of a Rebellion of the Jews, with whom the Heathens confounded those who profess Christianity, began to persecute them violently. That Persecution having begun at *Antioch*, went as far as *Egypt*, and forced many Christians to leave the Places of their Abode, wherein they were too well known, to give way to the Violence of the Persecution.

* *Strom.*

l. 4. p. 503,
& seq.

This seems to have given *Clemens* occasion to prove, that it was lawful to run away in time of Persecution. * Having said, that Martyrdom cleanses from all Sins, and exhorted those who are called to it, to suffer it; he observes, That we ought to shew, as well by our Manners as our Words, that we are persuaded of the Truth of the Christian Religion. Afterwards he explains that place of the Gospel, *When they persecute you in this City, flee ye unto another.*

The

• The Lord (says he) doth not command us
 • to flee, as if to be Persecuted was an ** Evil*;
 • and doth not bid us avoid Death by fly-
 • ing, as if we ought to fear it. He will
 • not have us to engage or help any Body
 • to do ill, &c. Those who do not obey,
 • are rash, and expose themselves, to no
 • purpose, to manifest Dangers. If he who
 • kills a Man of God, sins; he who presents
 • himself before a Judge's Tribunal, is also
 • guilty of his own Death, &c. He helps,
 • as much as lies in him, the Wickedness
 • of him who persecutes him. If he exasper-
 • rates him, he is really the cause of his
 • own Death, just as if he had exasperated
 • a Wild Beast that devoured him.

*That Reasoning is
 grounded upon the
 Principles of the Sto-
 icks, who deny'd that
 Pain was an Evil.

A little while after the Apostles, some
 had been seen to look for Martyrdom: but
 some having challenged the Executioners,
 and having scandalously fallen short of Chri-
 stianity, at the sight of the Torments, that
 Conduct † was found dangerous; and
 those who willingly offered themselves to
 Martyrdom, were Condemned, as it appears
 by many Passages of the Antients, and that
 of *Clemens*, which I have just now quoted,

† Vid. Dodd.
 wel. Diff.
 Cyp. XII.
 §. 49.

As we ought not to avoid Martyrdom,
 when it cannot be done without renouncing
 Christianity, or a Good Conscience; so we
 ought to preserve our Lives, as long as we
 can, whilst 'tis likely that we do Christians

greater service, by prolonging it if we fly, than by losing it for the sake of Truth, by staying in those Places where the Persecution rages, and which we may come out of, without ceasing to profess the Truth.

Those who blame, or make some difficulty to justify some *Protestant* Ministers, who came out of a Kingdom, wherein they could not stay without imminent Danger, if they continued to perform their Functions; should before prove, that such a Conduct would have been more advantagious to Christianity, than their Retreat. Methinks the Solution of that Question, which hath been lately moved, viz. *Whether they did well to retire?* depends upon this.

Clemens seems about that time to have left *Alexandria*, since we read that he made some stay at *Jerusalem* with *Alexander*, who a little while after was Bishop of that City, and to whom he dedicated his Book entituled, *The Ecclesiastical Rule against those who follow the Opinions of the Jews.*

Whilst he staid there, he was very useful to that Church, as it appears by a Letter of *Alexander* to the Church of *Antioch*, of

* *Euseb. l. 6.*
c. 11.

which *Clemens* was the Bearer, * wherein that Bishop says, * That he was a Man of great Vertue, as the Church of *Antioch* knew, and would know it again; and that being at *Jerusalem*, by an Effect of
: God's

‘ God’s Providence, he had confirm’d and
‘ encreased the Church of God there.

From *Antioch*, *Clemens* returned to *Alex-
andria*, where ’tis not known how long he
lived. All that can be said, is, that he
survived *Pantenus* at least some Years ; and
that he was not Old when he writ his
Stromata, since he himself * says, That he * *Strom.*
made them, to serve him as a Collection *L. 1. p. 274.*
in his Old Age, when his Memory should
fail.

History is silent concerning his Death ;
but we may believe that his Memory was
Blessed at *Alexandria*, if we consider those
words of the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom
I have just now mentioned, who, in a Let-
ter to *Origen*, says, ‘ † That they both ac- † *Euseb. ib.*
‘ knowledged for Fathers those Blessed Men *C. 14.*
‘ who went out of this Life before them,
‘ and with whom they should be in a short
‘ time, viz. the Blessed *Pantenus*, and
‘ Pious *Clemens*, of whom he had received
‘ great Help.

Amongst the many Works which *Clemens*
wrote, there are but Three extant that are
considerable. The First is, *An Exhortation
to the Heathens* : Wherein he confutes their
Religion, and endeavours to persuade them
to embrace Christianity. The Second is
entitled *Paedagogus* : In which he directs

the Manners of Young Men, and gives them some Rules to live like Christians; wherein he mixes some Maxims extremely severe, and very remote from our Customs. The Third is, his *Stromata*, that is to say,

* Ibid. l. i. *Hangings*; which he entituled so, * because of the Variety of Matters which he handles in it, p. 276. l. 4. p. 476. & p. 747. p. 766.

He shews what Conformity there is between several Opinions of the Heathen Philosophers, and those of the Jews and Christians: He Censures what was Bad, as he thinks, in the Heathen Philosophy; Defends and Explains the Christian Religion; Refutes the Hereticks; and shews every where a great Erudition. But he observes little or no Order, as he himself says at the End of the Seventh Book. He takes occasion from one thing to pass to another, without framing any Plan of what he is to say, and without having any other Design but to collect the most useful things he had learned by Study and Meditation.

His Style in this latter Work, is more harsh than in the two foregoing ones, wherein, notwithstanding, there is more Affectation, than Elegancy and Neatness. He pretends that he had some Reason for it: But there are Two great Inconveniences in such a Method. The First is, That for want of Order, not only the strength

strength of the most solid Proofs is not perceived, but also an Author confounds himself, often repeats the same thing, and heaps up an infinite number of Arguments which prove nothing. The Second is, That a Carelessness of Style, often makes what one says unintelligible; for 'tis not only Elegancy, but Clearness, that is wanting in it.

Now, an Affected Obscurity in Difficult Matters, as those are which *Clemens* treats of, is so much the more to blame; because 'tis no easy thing to be understood, even in Matters that are clear of themselves, if One does not express himself neatly. As we are to speak, only to be understood; so there is nothing can excuse an Author for not speaking clearly, but an absolute impossibility of expressing himself better. And indeed we are apt to believe, that those who have an Obscure Style, have no clear Head; and that they speak so, because they do not apprehend things more clearly than they speak 'em.

'Tis true, that the affected Ornaments of a far-fetched Eloquence ought to be despised; but Clearness cannot be reckon'd among those Ornaments.

It must needs be confest, that there are but few Fathers, whose Writings are not lyable to the same Observation with those of *Clemens*. Most of 'em, whilst they ex-

cuse themselves for not being Eloquent, do whatever they can to appear so after their way, as may be seen by a thousand high stroaks, and strained Metaphorical Expressions, which their Writings are full of; and we see but few, who thought that the greatest care a Writer should take, consists in exciting in the Minds of his Reader clear Ideas of what he says, by using Words without any Equivocation.

There is extant besides, an *Homily* of *Clemens*, entitled, *What Rich Man is Saved*; It was printed in Greek and Latin, by *Combes*, at *Paris*, 1672; and at *Oxford*, 1683: With several other Greek and Latin Fragments. Those who took care of the German Edition (at *Colen*, 1688.) of *Clemens's* Works, should have printed it with the rest of his Works; it would have made their Edition more considerable, which otherwise is not much more valuable, as those that use it will find. They have only followed the *Paris* Edition, 1641, without adding any thing to it, except New Faults.

There is, at the End of the Volume, *An Abridgment of the Doctrine of Theodotus, and of the Doctrine called Eastern in Valentinus's time.* The greatest part of it is only an Interpretation of some Places of the Holy Scripture, which some think to have been taken out of the Eighth Book of *Clemens*

Clemens Alexandrinus's Hypotyposes, (as I* *Lib. 6.* have already observed.) * *Eusebius* tells *cap. 14.* us, that he had interpreted the Holy Scripture after a compendious manner in that Work, without omitting (says he) the *Disputed Writings*, as *St. Jude's*, and the other *Catholick Epistles*, *St. Barnabas's Epistle*; *St. Peter's Apocalypsis*; and the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, which he assures to be *St. Paul's*, &c.

† *Photius*, who had seen that Work, says *† Cod. CIX.* also, that the Design of it was, to Explain the Holy Scripture; but he accuses the Author of maintaining, That Matter is Eternal; That the different Forms which it receives, are imparted to it by virtue of I know not what Decrees; That the Son is in the number of Things Created; That there hath been Many Worlds before *Adam*; That *Eve* was formed out of him, after another manner than what the Scripture relates; That the Angels having been conversant with some Women, had Children by them; That the *Reason* was not made Flesh, tho' it seem'd so to Men; That there are *Two Reasons* of the Father, the least whereof appeared to Men, and was made Flesh.

If we had those Books still, we might perhaps more clearly know that they are only some *Platonick Doctrines*, some of which *Photius* did not well understand, because

cause of the Equivocation of the Terms, and the other were not in Clement's time lookt upon as Impieties, but they have been since Systems of Divinity were compiled among Christians.

In the first Ages, when no Systems were entertained in the Schools, and explained to the Youth, as they are now, every one Philosophized, as well as he could, upon Matters of Speculation; and explained Speculative Doctrines according to the Philosophy he had learned. Except some Opinions, which either because they had made a great Noise, or for some other Reasons were condemned by the Bishops, they were very free in their Thoughts. If any one doubted of it, he might convince himself of the Truth thereof, by the strange Opinions which have been entertained by some of the Fathers, who were rank't among the Orthodox, and for which they were not censured in their time. One may see many Examples of it in the Fourth Chapter of *Dallæus's* Book *de Usu Patrum*; which, notwithstanding the Panegyrist's of Antiquity, will always be accounted a Good Book by those that know Antiquity. Such was, for Example, St. *Hilary's* Opinion, who believed that Christ felt no Pain when he was scourged.

But *Photius* suspects that the Hereticks

cor-

corrupted the Works of *Clement*; and *Rufinus* had the same Thoughts, as it appears by his Apology for *Origen*, which is in the IV. Tome of *St. Jerome's* Works. Yet if there was no more in them, than what *Philo* cites, there would be no reason to believe that they were much corrupted, though it cannot be absolutely denied. The reason of it is, that whatever that learned Patriarch may say, those very Opinions, if well understood, are to be found in the other Works of *Clement*, and are agreeable to the Principles which he follows every where.

He approves* clearly enough the Opinion of *Heraclitus*, who believed that the Matter of the World is Eternal; and he shews that he esteems him, for having distinguished the Matter of the World from its Form; the first whereof is immutable, and the second subject to change.

2. As to the Reasons why Matter receives certain Forms, *Photinus* knew no more of it than *Clement*.

3. If *Clement* had said that the Supreme Reason was Created (*κτιστός*), one ought to observe, that † to Create, Produce, *Begot*, signify the same thing in *Plato*; and that it doth not follow from thence, that he believed the Reason was Begotten or Produced out of Nothing.

* *Strom.*
l. 5. p. 599.

† See the
Life of *Eusebius*.

ably. It

4. It was *Plato's* Opinion, That the Form of the World doth altogether change in a certain number of Years; and that many such Changes happen'd before the Revolution in which we are, began. One may read his *Politicus* concerning this, wherein he maintains, that the Revolution of all the Stars, must cause an Universal Change in the World. Thus, in his Opinion, what was said, That Men had their Original from the Earth; happened in the Beginning of a Revolution. * * 'Tis what (as he goes on) our Predecessors said, who lived at the End of the foregoing Change, and were near the following, as well as those who were born in the Beginning of this. The Stoicks believed also the same thing, as † *Clemens* reports, who doth not seem to dislike their Opinion, and fails not to confirm it by the Authority of *Plato*.

* *Pag. 175.*
† *Strom.*
l. 5. p. 549.

5. The same Philosopher thought that the First Men were *Androgynes*, and had Four Feet, Two Heads, and so with the other Members, but that God divided them afterwards into Two, (as may be seen in his *Feast*.) Some *Rabbins* have said something like it, and grounded their Opinion upon this, That 'tis said, That God || Created Man Male and Female. This seems to be only an ingenious Fancy, not an Opinion which

|| *Vid. Breshith Rabbah, in fest. VIII.*

which those Authors did seriously entertain. It may be, that *Clemens* took some delight in making some Reflections upon *Plato's* Opinion, with so much the greater freedom, because, perhaps, he believed, as his Disciple *Origen*, that there was abundance of Allegories in the Beginning of *Genesis*.

6. As for the Angels that were in Love with Women, *Clemens* * says, in more than * *Pad. l. 3. p. 222.*
one place, that he thought the same thing ; *Strom. l. 3. p. 450. l. 5.*
and most of the Ancient Greek and Latin Fathers have explained so the Beginning of *the Sixth Chapter of Genesis. Photius* cannot blame that Opinion, without censuring, at the same time, all Antiquity ; but 'tis his Custom to treat ill the most Ancient Authors, when he finds in them some Opinions that were not received in his time, or some Expressions which he doth not think energick enough to express such Thoughts as, in his judgment the Antients should have had ; because 'twould have been an Heresie, not to think so, in his time.

7. The *Incarnation* being a Mystery which we do not comprehend, and *Clemens's* Style not being, for the most part, very clear, he might have expressed himself so as not to be well understood by *Photius* ; which is so much the more easie to believe, because that Patriarch commonly explains the Thoughts of the Antients agreeably to the
Opinions

Opinions and Ways of Speaking of his time.

The Writings of the Antients are full of Equivocal Terms, which they use in such a sence, as they had no more in the following Ages. Terms which signifying Spiritual and Obscure Things, and very compounded Ideas, must necessarily be difficult to understand; because they took no care to Define them, and make an exact Enumeration of the Ideas which they fixed to them. Perhaps it did not so much as come into their Mind, that this was very necessary to be well understood. At least One may observe, that when they endeavour to explain themselves about those Obscure Matters, they use Terms as Obscure as the fore-going.

8. One may observe an Example of it, concerning the *Two Reasons* mention'd by *Phorius*. Those who will carefully read the Second Tome of *Origen* upon *St. John*, may observe, that he establishes a *First* or *Supreme Reason*, which is Christ's Divinity; and many *Inferior Reasons*, which are made according to the Image of the Precedent. It might be said, in that sence, that None but the *Second Reasons* became Flesh, because none but they animate Humane Bodies; for although the First was united to the Humane Nature of Christ, it did not supply the Place of a Soul.

So

So that although *Clemens* had said what *Photius* pretends, yet he could not be charged with Heresie upon that account: But he did not say so, as appears by the Passage which *Photius* himself quotes out of him: *The Son is called Reason, as well as the Paternal Reason; but it is not that which was made Flesh: Nor is it the Paternal Reason neither, but a Divine Power (which is, as it were, an Emanation of that same Reason) which became Spirit (N̄s̄) and is come into the Hearts of Men.* By those Terms, *The Son*, we must not understand the *Only Begotten Son of God*, but *the Man*; as it clearly appears by what follows. *Clemens*, perhaps, call'd him only *Υἱός*; because he might have before clearly enough denoted whom he meant by that word. *Photius*, who did not well apprehend the Meaning of that Passage, might easily mistake the Series of that Discourse: As the Jesuite *Schottus*, otherwise a Learned Man, was altogether mistaken in the Latin Translation of those Words, as one may presently observe, by comparing it with mine.

Lastly, We have a Latin Work * ascribed * *In Bibliothek Pat.*
to *Clemens*, and intituled, *Commentariola in Primam Canonicam S. Petri, in Epistolam Jude, & Tres Epistolas S. Joannis Apostoli.*
There is indeed several things in those
Notes,

Notes, which do not differ from *Clemens's* Doctrine ; but we can't know whether they are an entire Translation of part of the *Hypotyposes*, or only some Extracts corrected according to the Interpreter's mind.

'Tis well known, that when the Latins translated some Greek Writings, they were very apt to make such Alterations in them as they thought fit, (as *Ruffinus* hath been upbraided with it.) Nay, there is no need to look so far for Examples of that ill Custom, since we have one with relation to part of *Clemens's Hypotyposes*, of which *Cas-*

* *Lib. 1. de Iodorus* speaks thus: * *Clemens Alexan-*
Just. Div. drinus explained, in the Athenian Lan-
Script. guage, the Canonical Epistles, that is,

' the First Epistle of *St. Peter*, the First and
 ' Second of *St. John*, and that of *St. James*,
 ' wherein there is many subtle things ; but
 ' also some unwarily spoken, which we have
 ' caused to be so translated into Latin, as
 ' to take away what might give scandal ;
 ' that his Doctrine thus purified, might be
 ' more safely read. *Ubi multa quidem sub-*
tiliter sed aliqua incaute loquutus est, quæ
nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinum, ut ex-
clusis quibusdam offendiculis, purificata doc-
trina ejus securior posset hauriri.

Clemens also composed Five Tracts, which are lost : 1. *The Rule or Canon of the Church,* against those that followed the Opinions of
 the

the Jews. 2. Concerning Easter. 3. Concerning Ill Speaking. 4. Some Disputes about Fasting. 5. An Exhortation to Patience, directed to the Neophytes.

Having thus made some Particular Remarks upon every one of his Works, and some General Ones on that Occasion; what remains, is only to take notice of Three Things.

1. He often cites Supposititious Writings, as if they had been acknowledged by every Body, as one may observe by that Place of *St. Peter's Preaching*, which I have alledg'd; and another of *St. Paul*, which seems to have been taken out of the Book of his *Travels*; upon which *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* may be consulted.

Which may make one believe, that the great Reading of that Learned Man, gave him no refined Palate. One need not be a great Master of this sort of Learning, to perceive, that what he cites out of them, doth not suit the Style of the Apostles, and is not agreeable to their Principles. It cannot be doubted, but that they believed, that the God whom the Jews worshipped, was the True God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who says so himself.

E

Nor

Nor can the Jews be charged with having served the *Angels*, the *Month*, and the *Moon*, with any probability ; and the Reason which the Author of *St. Peter's Preaching* gives for it, is so ridiculous, that none but such as will be deceived, can be deceived by it. 'Tis true, that some * Learned Men have otherwise explained that Acculation which that Author lays upon them ; but one may easily see, by what follows, that he understood it in a more simple manner than they do.

* Huet. in
Orig. T. 2.
p. 212.

However, that Book being manifestly Supposititious, † *Origen* dealt much more prudently than his Master ; since being to refute *Heracleon* a Valentinian, who drew some Consequences against the Old Testament, from those pretended words of *St. Peter*, he begins with saying, *That one should enquire, whether that Book is truly St. Peter's, & whether it is not Supposititious? whether it be not Interpolated?* and then he shews, that the Jews worshipped the Creator of the World.

† Ibid.
T. 14. in
Joan.

But 'tis the Custom of many Antients, to make use of all sorts of Arguments and Books, to bring over Men to their Opinions. If any should use the same Method now, they would presently be accused of Simplicity, or want of Honesty ; But every Age hath its Customs. However, 'tis cer-
tain,

tain, that the Rules of Good Sence have always been the same ; and 'tis not less certain, that Great Learning makes not a Man more Exact and Judicious, according to that famous Maxim of *Heraclitus*, which *Clemens* cites some where, ΠΟΛΥΜΑΘΗΝ ΟΥ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙ.

2. *Clemens* is wont to explain the Scripture Allegorically, without making his Allegories look likely, as 'twas the ordinary Custom of the Antients. One may see what *Huetius* says concerning the Origin of Allegories, in his *Origeniana*, lib. 2. chap. 2. qu. 14. But if one carefully reads what *Clemens* says of it in the Fifth Book of his *Stromata*, where he doth somewhat enlarge upon this Matter, one may easily perceive, that that which chiefly induced him to believe that the Holy Scripture is full of them, is, because the *Egyptians* and the *Greeks* were wont to hide the Secrets of their Philosophy under some Emblems and Fables. 'Tis true, that the Jews had the same Thoughts, even before the Coming of Christ. 'Tis true also, that in the remotest Times, that Nation expressed herself not only by clear Words, but also by symbolical Actions, as it appears by several places of the Old Testament. However, there is not one Example, by which it appears, that they designed to hide the

Doctrines of the Jewish Religion ; which, on the contrary, they express very clearly, and after a simple manner.

There are but some few places of the History of the Beginning of the World, which may be turned into Allegories with some likelihood ; and only with respect to some Circumstances, which do not at all concern the Essential part of the History, nor belong to the Worship of God, Good Manners, or the Doctrines, without which they could not serve God, nor be Good Men, according to the Law. In all the rest of the History of the *Hebrews*, there is nothing that looks like an Allegory, every thing in it is simple and easie to be understood ; which makes one believe, that those that wrote it, were no Allegorists ; and that if there is any thing in the most ancient Events of the History of Mankind, that may be understood that way, the *Hebrews* took that turn, only because Tradition, or the Memoirs upon which they wrote, were so worded.

It doth not appear, that they designed to Philosophize, or teach any Doctrines of Natural Philosophy, either clearly or obscurely ; and those Places wherein *Philo* endeavours to find some Philosophical Doctrines, are so violently wrested, that any Body may see the Sacred Writers
never

never thought of what he makes them say.

Indeed, if we reflect upon the Origin of Allegories among the Heathens, we shall find that they came out somewhat late : And when the Philosophers undertook to give an Account of the Fables, or ancient Histories of the Gods, that is, to save the Honour of their most ancient Historians, who were accused of having absurd Notions of so excellent Natures, as those of the Gods were ; so they were obliged to make those, whom those scandalous Histories offended, believe, that the Poets meant quite another thing than what they said, and from thence comes the word *Allegory*. For a * Discourse, which taken in its proper sence (*ἄλλο ἔγγραφε*) signifies quite another thing than what is meant by it, is properly an Allegory. Thus some Histories were turned into Allegories among the *Grecians*, lest they should believe that the Gods of *Greece* had been only Vitious Men.

* *Heracl.*
Pont. Alleg.
Hom. pag.
412. Ed.
Amstelod.
Westenianæ.

The *Jews*, who had never applied themselves to the Study of Criticks and Philosophy, were no sooner among the *Greeks*, but they admired that Method of Explaining Religion ; and made use of it to explain the Sacred Writings after a manner more agreeable to the Taste of the Heathens ; as may be seen by the Example of *Philo*, who

explains all the Old Testament after the *Platonick* way. Nay, they went so far, as to explain Allegorically not only such Places as might have some difficulty, but also the clearest and plainest, without so much as excepting those which concern Manners, and which being literally understood, contain a most excellent sense for the Conduct of one's Life; nor the plainest Histories, and from which one may draw most useful Instructions, without looking for any other sense, but that which offers it self to the Mind. *Philo* is full of such like Examples.

The Christians imitated the Jews afterwards, and were not contented to explain the Old Testament Allegorically: They did the same with respect to the New, though neither Christ nor his Apostles have proposed any Doctrine after an Emblematick manner, but what they explained clearly enough, to save the trouble of seeking its meaning, by having recourse to Allegories, in which there is no certainty. For it must be confessed, that according to that Method, if the Sacred Writers had said quite another thing than what they said, or, if you will, the quite contrary; yet one might find as good a sense in them, as those, that will try it, will presently observe. Hence it is, that the *Pagans* themselves, who

who had been the Contrivers of that strange way of interpreting ancient Books, could not abide that the Christians should make use of it; as the Christians in their turn laugh, at the strained Interpretations of the Heathens. Nay, some Pagans, more quick-sighted than others, thought they were ridiculous. Wherefore, the Christians and the Jews would have done much better to keep close to the Letter, than to use so uncertain a Method to defend the Holy Scripture against the Pagans.

3. Although several Opinions of *Clemens Alexandrinus* may justly be accounted Erroneous; yet if we consider every particular Opinion which he held, and is no more admitted amongst us, we shall observe, That some of them are lookt upon as Erroneous, only because the contrary Opinions have been introduced, I know not how, into most Schools, though Men have had no New Light concerning them. As soon as a Famous Man hath maintained a Doctrine, without being contradicted by Men of an Equal Reputation or Authority, or even without any Opposition; such a Doctrine takes root so well, that Men use themselves, by degrees, to look upon the contrary Opinion as an Error, without knowing why.

Opinions are often introduced as Customs, which owe their Beginning to the Example of some few Persons, whom others imitate. They so affect Mens Mind, that any other besides those which he follows, seem to him ridiculous. A Garment which is not commonly seen, seems Extravagant, though it was Fashionable in former Times: The same may be said of an Opinion which is grown old, it is disliked, because no Body follows it at present. For Example,

*Pad. l. 1.
p. 101.*

† *Vid. Ori-
geniana
Huetii, l. 2.
c. 2, 5.*

* *Clemens* believed, that Angels had Bodies: And it was also the Opinion of † *Origen*, and most of the Fathers. Yet that Opinion is branded as an Error, without any Reason: For although the Scripture teaches us, that *Spirits have neither Flesh nor Bones*, and that Angels are Intelligences; yet it says no where, that they are not cloathed with Bodies. There hath been no Revelation since upon that Matter, nor have we found out any convincing Reason that can persuade us the contrary. Notwithstanding, tis commonly said that 'tis an Error, because the School-Men have said so. I confess, that the Fathers, who have ascribed Bodies to the Angels, have alledged no evident Reason to prove it; But all that could be concluded from thence, is, that They affirmed a thing which, They knew not no more than We.

Thus

Thus we should have suspended our Judgment, and affirmed nothing concerning a Subject which was equally unknown to us. Such a Suspension suited not with the Dogmatics, who can hardly confess that they know not all things; and believe 'tis the part of a Witty Man, to Determine himself speedily upon all sorts of Questions. Indeed, without this, 'tis not possible to frame a System as compleat as it ought to be, to be accounted a Learned Man: And it would be a shameful thing to confess, that a Thousand Questions might be askt upon every Article; which could not be answered, if one should say nothing but what one knows. The same Principle may be applied to several other Doctrines of *Clemens*; concerning which, 'twere better ingeniously to confess one's Ignorance, than to condemn some Opinions about which we are in the dark.

Hence it is, that notwithstanding those Opinions, some Antients have bestowed many *Encomium's* upon him. * *Eusebius* * *Hist. Eccl.* says, ' That his Books are full of Useful Learning. † *St. Jerom* says, That he hath writ very fine Works, full of Learning and Eloquence, which he took out of the Holy Scripture, and Profane Authors. And elsewhere, '*Clemens* (says he) Priest of the Church of *Alexandria*, the most Learned
' of

l. 6. c. 13.

† *Cat. Scrip. Eccles. & in Ep. ad Magnum Orat. T. 2.*

‘ of our Authors, in my judgment, wrote
 ‘ Eight Books of *Stromata* ; as many of
 ‘ *Hypotyposes* ; a Book against the *Pagans* ;
 ‘ and Three Volumes, entituled the *Pada-*
 ‘ *gouge*. Is there any thing in his Books, but
 ‘ what is full of Learning, and taken from
 ‘ the bottom of Philosophy ? *Cyril of*
Alexandria affirms, in his VIth. and VIIth.
 Books against *Julian*, That he was a Man
 of wonderful Learning, who dived to the bot-
 tom of Greek Learning, with such an Exactness
 as few before him could attain to. * *Theo-*
doret says, That that Holy Man surpassed
 all others by the extent of his Learning.

* *Heret.*
Fab. l. I.
c. 6.

What hath been said, is sufficient to have
 a Notion of the Doctrine of *Clemens* ; I
 shall only add a word concerning the
Cologne Edition, 1688. Two sorts of
 Faults may be observed in it, whereof some
 are Common to it, with many other Edi-
 tions of the Books of the Antients ; and
 the other are Particular to it.

As to the First, one may observe, That
 the Editions wherein there is no Distinctions
 and Paragraphs, want a thing which seems
 not to be of great moment in it self, but
 yet doth very much conduce to the under-
 standing of an Author. The Beginning
 of a new Section, is as it were an Adver-
 tisement to the Reader, who only by cast-
 ing his Eye upon a Page, sees how many

Argu-

Arguments, and what Matter it contains. Else the want of distinct Paragraphs doth somewhat confound the Mind, and forces the Reader to be more attentive to understand what he reads, and to look for a Connexion where there is none, or confound two Arguments. Now, one should always endeavour to lessen, as much as can be, the Trouble of the Reader, who takes Pains enough to understand the Things themselves.

Paragraphs produce, in some respects, the same effect as the Distinction of Chapters; which cannot be neglected, without breeding Confusion. 'Tis true, the Antients often neglected to divide their Books or Discourses into certain Parts: But if it be well consider'd, the want of Order in many of their Writings, was the true cause of that Neglect. 'Twas easier to pass from one subject to another, by reason of some small Connexion that was between 'em, or confusedly to write down a crowd of Thoughts, than to reduce 'em into a certain Order: as it would be more easie to heap up the Materials of a House, than to give every one of them its due place. Those who desire some Examples of Books without Order, need only cast their Eyes upon *Seneca* or *Tertullian*, who both said, with a great deal of Enthusiasm, whatever came
into

into their Mind, scarce ever having a Notion of any Order, which they design'd to follow. If those Authors were printed so as to divide their Reasonings by Paragraphs, they might be much better understood.

The other Fault, which those that take care of the Editions of Ancient Authors, often commit, is, that they do not distinguish in a different Character the Quotations from the Words of the Author : From whence it comes to pass, that those who do not read them attentively, ascribe to one Author what belongs to another. This Dr. Cave hath done, in his English Life of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which hath been very useful to me in the writing of this. *Clemens*, in the above-mention'd place, concerning the Philosophy which he approves, cites *Socrates*, who, in *Phædo*, applies to the Philosophers this Proverb, which was used in the Mysteries, *There are many who carry the Thyrsus, but few that are truly filled with the Spirit of Bacchus.* * *Socrates* adds immediately after, *These, as I believe, are only those who applied themselves to Philosophy as they ought to do, OF the Number whereof I have endeavoured to be, as much as I could, &c.* The whole Passage being in *Roman Characters*, Dr. Cave thought that those words, *Of the Number whereof, &c.* were *Clemens's* ; whereas they are *Socrates's*

* P. 380.
Ed. Ficin.

as may be seen in *Plato*, and even by reading the rest of the Page wherein *Clemens* cites 'em. If the whole Passage had been printed in *Italick* Letters, *Dr. Cave* would not have mistaken it : Which ought not to seem strange to those who know, that to write the Life of an Author, collected out of several places, so many things must be heeded all at once, that 'tis a hard matter not to confound one's self.

Besides, by distinguishing the Matters by Paragraphs, and Quotations by different Characters, those who have read an Author, may more easily find out again such places as they want ; which is no small Advantage.

As to the Edition of *Cologne*, there are Three *Index's* ; the first, of the Places cited by *Clemens* ; the second, of the Contents ; and a third, of Greek Words and Phrases, either worthy of Observation, or such as that Author hath used in a particular Sence. If those *Index's* were Compleat and Correct, they would be undoubtedly very useful ; but they are neither : There is a great many Faults in the Numbers, and the Sence of *Clemens* is often mis-represented in them. That Passage of *Job*, *There is none but is polluted*, is referred to the 25th. Chapter of his Book, whereas 'tis in the 14th. There is in the Index, *Peccato originali*

nali infectæ omnium animæ & corpora, 468. d.
 On the contrary, *Clemens* confutes that Opinion in that place; but *Sylburgus*, or another who made that *Index*, in all probability, thought of what *Clemens* should have said, in his judgment, rather than what he did really say.

There is besides a Fourth Index before the Book, which contains a Catalogue of the Authors cited by *Clemens*; but the Pages in which they are cited being not marked, 'tis altogether useless.

'Twere to be wisht, for the Commonwealth of Learning, not only that Kings were Philosophers, or Philosophers Kings; but also, that Printers were Learned Men, or Learned Men Printers; and that we might see again the Age of the *Manutius's* and *Stephens*, to give us good Editions of the Writings of the Antients, and make that Study more Easie, which is Difficult enough of it self, without encreasing the Difficulties by our own Negligence.

The

The Life

OF

EUSEBIUS,

Bishop of Caesarea.

THE same Reason that induced me to give the Publick the *Life of Clemens Alexandrinus*, obliges me to give an Account of that of *Eusebius of Caesarea*. It will be so much the more Curious to those who cannot consult the Originals, because there happened more Remarkable Things in *Eusebius* his time, than in *Clemens's*, and because the former was in a Higher Station than the latter.

Eusebius was born in *Palestine*, and perhaps at *Caesarea*; at least * he seems to * Ap. So-
crat. l. 5.
c. 8. intimate, in the beginning of his Letter to the Christians of that City, That he was *Instructed in the Christian Faith, and Baptized*

tized there. He was Born towards the End of the Third Century, though we cannot find exactly the Year of his Birth. He began early to apply himself to Learning, especially to Divinity, as it sufficiently appears in his Writings, wherein may be seen, that he had carefully read all sorts of Profane Authors; and that all the Writings of the Christians who wrote in Greek, and those of the Latin, that were translated into that Tongue, were known to him. He had the advantage of the curious Library which the Martyr *Pamphilus*, his particular Friend, had collected at *Cæsarea*. Its affirm'd, * That being become Bishop of this City, he entreated *Constantine* (who passed through it, and who had bid him ask some Favour in behalf of his Church, that he would permit him to make a search into all the Publick Registers, to extract the Names of all the Martyrs, and the Time of their Death. However, he has committed Faults enough in Chronology, as *Joseph Scaliger*, and a great many other Learned Men have observed; and especially in relation to Martyrs, as Mr. *Dodwel* has lately shewn in his Dissertation *de Paucitate Martyrum*. But it was no easie Matter to escape these kind of Faults in such a Work as his *Ecclesiastical History*, which was the first of that sort that was ever undertaken; the Primitive

* Hieron.
Epist. ad
Chron. &
Heliod. Antipater Bo-
strensis in
Concil. Ni-
can. II.
Act. 5.

tive Christians taking no care of the History of their Times.

Eusebius is commonly call'd the Son of *Pamphilus*: Whether he was really his Son, as some affirm; or his Nephew, according to the Opinion of others; or in fine, as most believe, by reason of the great Friendship between them. This *Pamphilus* was of *Beryte* in *Phœnicia*, and Priest of *Cæsarea*; he held *Origen's* Opinions, for whom he wrote an Apology, of which there remains to us but a part of it in Latin, among the Works of *Origen* and *St. Jerome*. He made it in Prison, where he was put in the Year 307, under the Emperor *Decius*, and where *Eusebius* did not forsake him. He could write only the five first Books, having been hinder'd from finishing * this Work, by the Death which he suffered for the Gospel, two years after he had been thrown into Prison. But *Eusebius* finish'd it, in adding thereto a sixth Book, and publish'd it after his Death. *Pamphilus* had for Master † *Pierius* Priest of *Alexandria*, who likewise suffer'd Martyrdom, and was also of *Origen's* Opinion, whose Assiduity and Eloquence he imitated; which got him the Name of Second *Origen*. It's not amiss here to relate the Judgment which *Photius* makes of his Works:

* Phot. Cod. CXVIII.

† Id. Cod. CXIX.

F

He

' He advances several things (says he)
 ' remote from those which are at present
 ' establish'd in the Church, perhaps ac-
 ' cording to the Custom of the Antients :
 ' Yet he speaks after a pious manner of
 ' the Father and the Son, excepting that he
 ' assures us, that they have Two Essences
 ' (*Ousias*,) and Two Natures (*Phoëis*,)
 ' using the words *Essence* and *Nature*, as it
 ' appears by what precedes, and follows
 ' in this Passage, for that of *Hypostasis*, and
 ' not in the sense of the *Arians*. But he
 ' speaks of the Holy Spirit in a dangerous
 ' and impious manner ; for he attributes to
 ' him a Glory inferiour to that of the Fa-
 ' ther and the Son. — Yet he was
 Catechist of *Alexandria*, under the Pa-
 triarch *Theonas*, who was Consecrated in the
 Year 282.

* *Pamphilus* being dead, as has been said,
Eusebius retired to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*,
 his Friend ; where he was Witness, as he
 tells us * himself, of several Martyrdoms,
 the History of which he has left us, in his
 Book of the *Martyrs of Palestine*. From
 thence he went into *Egypt*, where he found
 the Persecution yet more violent, and where
 he was thrown into Prison. But this Per-
 secution having ceased, he was set at liberty,
 and a while after elected Bishop of *Cæsarea*,
 after the Death of *Agapins*. It's not cer-
 tainly

* L. 8. c. 6.

tainly known in what Year this Election was made, but at least, he was already Bishop, when *Paulinus* dedicated a stately Church in the City of *Tyre*, which he had built there, which was in the Year 316, in the 10th. of Year *Constantine's* Reign; for it was the Custom of the Christians, * as well as of the Pagans, to Consecrate their Churches in the time of the *Decennales* of the Emperors, or of any other Solemnity. *Eusebius* recites a fine Oration, spoken at this Dedication; † and though he does not say, that it was he himself that spoke it, yet the Style of this Oration, and the modest Manner after which he mentions him that made it, gives one reason to believe, that he has suppressed his Name only through Modesty. One might imagine, that he was then but Priest, were it not manifest, that it was very rare, in that Age, for Priests to speak in publick, where there were Bishops present.

* *Ant. Pagi*
Diff. Hypat.
par. 2. c. 3.
n. 12, 13.

† *L. 10. c. 4.*

It was about this time, that *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* had a bickering with one of his Priests named *Arius*, touching the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, which gave birth to *Arianism*. *Eusebius* having had a great share in the Disputes of *Arianism*, we cannot recount his Life, without writing the History of it: And to know wherein consisted these Disputes, we must necessa-

rily ascend higher, and enquire what Principles of Philosophy were in use in that time among the Christians, and how they came to be introduced. This is so necessary a Digression, as will appear in the Sequel, that it's to be supposed the Reader must approve of it.

There was never any Philosopher that made himself so Famous as *Plato*, and no Books read with more Pleasure than his, whether from the Subjects, and lofty Thoughts found therein, or by reason of the Elegancy and Nobleness of their Style, which never any Philosopher could equalize. He was born under the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, surnam'd *Long-hand*, Four hundred twenty six Years before Christ, and died aged Fourscore Years, in the time when *Philip* of *Macedon* made himself to be fear'd of all *Greece*. *Alexander* his Son having made himself Master of *Asia*, which his Successors divided among them; one may reasonably believe, that the Sciences of the *Greeks* there, establish'd themselves with their Empire, and their Customs.

Ptolemy the Son of *Lagus*, one of *Alexander's* Successors, undertook to collect into his Library of *Alexandria* all the Books he could find, and drew thither several Learned Men of *Greece*. * He

* Vid. *Hody*
de *LXX.*
Int. c. 9.

was Learned himself, and omitted nothing, for

for the inspiring into his Sons the love of Learning.

His Son *Philadelphus* march'd, in this respect, in his Father's steps, as all those who have any knowledge in the History of this Prince, do well know. The Syrian Monarchs seem likewise to have cultivated the Sciences; seeing that *Suidas* relates, that *Euphorion* of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, Poet and Philosopher, was Library-keeper of *Antiochus the Great*, Two hundred Years before our Saviour's time. *Plato* was too famous then, and his Works in too great esteem, not to have had place in these Libraries. One may also believe, that *Asia*, which was then full of Greek Philosophers, wanted not *Platonists*.

Among the Opinions of *Plato*, there are not any more remarkable, than those which he had touching the Divinity, the Præ-existence and Immortality of the Soul. He held that there is only One Supreme, Spiritual and Invisible God, whom he calls *The Being*, or, *The Being it Self*, *The Very Being*, *The Father and Cause of all Beings*, &c. He placed under this Supreme God an Inferior Being, which he calls *Reason* (*Λόγος*) *The Director of Things Present and Future*, *the Creator of the Universe*, &c. In fine, he acknowledg'd a Third Being, which he calls the *Spirit* or *Soul of the World*. He

added, That the First was the Father of the Second, and the Second had produced the Third. We may consult hereupon his *Timæus*, to which we should adjoyn his II, and VI. Letter. In the second, which is directed to *Dionysius*, who complained, that *Plato* had not sufficiently instructed him touching the *First Nature*, or First Being, this Philosopher thus expresses himself: *Every thing is about the King of all things, and every thing is because of Him: He is the cause of all good things. The things of the Second Order, are about the Second; the things of the Third are about the Third.* He calls this a Riddle; forbids *Dionysius* to speak of it before the Ignorant; enjoyns him to burn his Letter as soon as he has read it, and protests he will never write again of this Matter. In his Sixth Letter, he enjoyns *Hermias*, *Erastus* and *Cariscus* to swear, in taking to witness, *The God who is the Director of things present and future; and the Lord, who is the Father of this Director, and of this Cause.* The Obscurity which he affects in this occasion, lest he should draw on him the Rage of the Superstitious Populace, hinders us from understanding what he would say; unless we collate together all the Passages wherein he speaks of the Divinity, and consult his Interpreters and Disciples.

Here's

Here's how one of 'em * explains his * *Hierocle's*
 Master's meaning : ' *Plato* believed, That *de Provid.*

' God the Creator sustains the Visible and *apud Photium. Cod.*

' Invisible World, which was made out of CCLI.

' Nothing ; That his Will suffices to make

' Beings exist ; That by the Conjunction

' of a Corporal Nature, and another Incor-

' poreal, he has made a most Perfect World,

' which is Double and Single at the same

' time, in which one may distinguish the

' High, the Middle, and the Low ; That

' he calls High, the Heavenly Beings, and

' the Gods ; the Middle, the Ætherial In-

' telligences, and Good Dæmons, which

' are the Interpreters and Messengers in

' what relates to the Good of Men ; The

' Low, the Terrestrial Intelligences, and

' the Souls of Men, or Men Immortal ;

' That the Superior Beings govern the Infe-

' rior ; but, that God, who is the Creator

' and Father of 'em, Reigns over All ; and,

' That this Paternal Empire is nothing else

' but his Providence, by which he gives to

' every sort of Being what belongs to it. —

We may hereby understand what *Plato*

calls the things of the Second and Third

Order. We shall not busie our selves in seek-

ing from whom *Plato* might have learn'd

this Doctrine, whether from the *Chaldeans*,

or from the Old Testament, as some of the

Fathers have believed.

Although *Plato's* Disciples are agreed with their Master, in respect of these Three Principles; yet there is to be found in their Writings divers Enquiries touching their Nature, and divers Ways of Speaking, which are not to be seen in those of this Philosopher, who never dared to write all he thought on this Subject. *Plotinus* particularly, who liv'd in the Beginning of the Third Century, has treated of them in several places of his * *Enneades*, but especially in the Book which is entitled, *Of the Three Hypostases, which are the Three Principles of all things*. Here's whereunto his Doctrine may be reduced.

* *Præsertim* En. V.
l. 1. a c. 3.
ad 8.

1st. There are Three Principles: *the Being, the Spirit, or the Reason of the Being; and the Soul of the World, which is the Reason of the Spirit*. There is also, according to him, *a Reason of the Soul of the World*; but it is a Reason *obscure* (*ἀμυδρόν*.)
2^{dly}. The Being has begotten the Reason; not by an Act of his Will, or by a Decree, but by his Nature; as Fire begets Heat, or as the Sun produces Light. The Reason has also begotten the Soul of the World, and perhaps termed Father in this respect.

3^{dly}. These Three Hypostases differ in Number, although there be a most strict Union between them; which makes, that
one

one may say at the same time, that they are different, and that they are the same thing. The First is more Excellent than the Second, and the Second more Excellent than the Third.

4thly. The Terms which *Plotinus* uses, are worth observing.

1. He calls not only *Essence* (Οὐσία) after *Plato*, the Nature of the Being, of the Reason, and of the Soul of the World; but he likewise uses the word (Ἔλν) *Matter*; and says, that the Matter of the one is more perfect than that of the other. Having pretended that *Parmenides* had said before *Plato*, that there are Three Principles; he expresses himself in these terms; *Parmenides holds likewise the Opinion of the Three Natures.*

2. It's observable, that the word *Hypostasis* (ὑπόστασις) signifies two things, with this Philosopher; first, the Existence of a thing, considered abstractedly; and in the second place, the thing it self which exists, as it's taken in the Title of this Book, of the *Three Hypostases*, which are the Principles of all things, Περὶ τῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων, and in the Title of the Third Book of the same *Enneade*, of *Intelligent Beings.*

3. As he says, That the Reason is the Father of the Soul; he says likewise, That the Reason begets and makes the Soul. For
we

we must observe, that in this matter, *Plato* and his Disciples use indifferently the words, *to Beget, to Make, to Produce, &c.* and that *Begotten* and *Made*, is the same thing here, in their mouths. We need only read *Plato's Timæus*.

4. *Plotinus* says, That the *Father* and the *Reason* are one and the same thing (*ἓν*) because they coexist and forsake not one another. He says, that the Supreme Being, and whose Essence consists in Existing, in a manner wholly particular, has begotten by his Nature the Spirit; and that he cannot be without him, no more than a Luminous Body can be without Light.

The Spirit on his part, whose Essence consists in having perpetually a lively conception of the Being, cannot exist (*ἕως ἡμέρας*) without this. They cannot be separated (*χωρὶς ἑαλέναι*) one from the other, because there is nothing between them, as there is nothing between the Spirit and the Soul.

5. He says, That that which is begotten, resembles (*ὁμοίον ἔστι*) its Cause, just as the Light resembles the Sun.

6. He says, That the Spirit is the Image (*εἰκὼν, εἰδωλόν*) of the Being, as the Soul is the Image of the Spirit.

St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in his Eighth Book against *Julian*, cites a Passage of *Porphyry*, out of his Third Book of the Philosophical

sophical History, whence it appears, that the *Platonists* disputed among themselves, whether there could be more than Three *Hypostases* in the Divinity: ' *Plato* (saith ' *Porphry*) has taught, That the Divine ' Essence may extend it self even to Three ' *Hypostases*, to wit, the Supreme Divi- ' nity, or the Good it self; after it, the ' Creator, who is the Second; and the ' Soul of the World, which is the Third, &c. ' But there are Men who pretend, that we ' must not reckon the very Good, or Good ' it self, among the things which he has pro- ' duced; and that being of a perfect Sim- ' plicity, and incapable of Accidents, he has ' Communion with nothing: so that it is ' by the Spirit that we must begin to reckon ' the Trinity *Τὴν Τριάδα*.

However, *Porphry's* Master, whom we have already cited, seems * to say, that * *Ennead.*
there may be more than Three *Hypostases*, *V. lib. 8.*
(in these remarkable words: *cap. 12.*

' God has begotten an excellent Being,
' and has brought forth all things in Him.
' This Production has cost him no Pain;
' for pleasing himself in what he begat, and
' finding his Productions good, he has re-
' tained them all in Himself, tempering his
' Brightness and theirs. Those which have
' there remain'd being more excellent,
' there's only his only Son (*πῦς*) *Jupiter*
' who

who has appear'd without, by whom, as by
 the Supreme Son of the Divinity, and as
 in an Image, one may see what the Fa-
 ther is, and the Brethren which have re-
 main'd in the Father, *μεγαλὸν Ἰσχυρὸν*.

The *Platonists* likewise used, in speaking
 of the Union which they conceiv'd to be
 between the different Orders of their Divi-
 nities, the terms of (*ἑτερογένεια*) of different
 Essence; and (*ὁμογένεια*) Co-essential. By
 the first, they denote the different sorts of
 Beings; and by the second, what is of the
 same kind. Here's a Proof taken out of
Jamblichus, in his Book of the *Mysteries of*
the Egyptians, Sect. 1. ch. 19. He speaks
 of the Manner after which the Superior
 Gods are united to the Inferior, according
 to the Platonick Philosophy: 'The Divi-
 nities (says he) of the Second Order turn-
 ing themselves towards the First Intel-
 lectual Beings, and the First giving to the
 Second the same Essence (*τὸ αὐτὸν Οὐσιαν*)
 and the same Power; this entertains their
 Union. What we call Union in the things
 which are of different Kinds (*ἑτερογένεια*)
 as the Soul and the Body, or which are
 divers Species (*ἁπομορφώσεων*) as Material
 things, or which are otherwise divided;
 this Union, I say, happens to 'em from
 Superior things, and destroys it self at a
 certain time. But the more we elevate
 our

our selves to Superior things, and to the
 Identity (*Tαυτότητα*) of the First Beings,
 and in regard of the Species, and in re-
 gard of the Essence; when we ascend from
 the Parts to the Whole, the more we ac-
 knowledge the Union (*Ἑνωσις*) which is
 Eternal, and the more we see what is the
 Union properly so called, and the Model
 whereon all the rest have been form'd,
 and that it hath about it, and in it self,
 the Diversity (*Ἑτερότητα*) and the Mul-
 tiplicity.

Porphyry had ask'd, Whether a kind of
 Being is form'd (*ὑποστασις*) mixt with our
 Soul and Divine Inspiration, which made
 the Prophets able to foresee the Future.

* *Jamblichus* answer'd, No: and gives this * §.3. c.21.

Reason for it; which is, *That when One
 thing is form'd of Two, the Whole is of
 one and the same Species, of the same Na-
 ture, and Co-essential* (*ὁμοούσιον*), and that
 this does not happen in the case proposed by
Porphyry.

One may see hereby the Subtilty with
 which the *Platonists* handled these Matters;
 and the Terms they used. But we should
 take notice of two things, in endeavouring
 to form to our selves an Idea of their Senti-
 ments. The first, That we must not al-
 ways suppose they had a clear and distinct
 Knowledge of what they would say them-
 selves,

selves, and that they saw all the Consequences of their Opinions: So that it would be perhaps in vain, to endeavour to draw out of their Writings a clear Idea of their Sentiment, touching the Three Principles of all things; because, perhaps they themselves conceiv'd not clearly what they said; at least, their Style is so different on this occasion, from that which is observable in the Passages of their Writings, wherein they speak of things which they may know, that it is apparent, they contain'd not the subject of the Three Principles, like an infinite of others, which they have known how to express in an even, clear and elegant manner.

The Second thing we should observe, is, That in so difficult a Matter, we must content our selves with what they say positively, without attempting to draw far-fetch'd Consequences from their Principles, which we cannot understand but by halves; otherwise we are in danger of attributing to them such Notions as they never had. Neither must we endeavour to reconcile, in so abstracted a Subject, the Contradictions which seem to appear in their Doctrine; nor conclude, that they could not mean things in such a manner, because then they must contradict themselves. It was the Custom of these Philosophers, to affect certain

tain apparent Contradictions, in using the same Terms in divers Sences. Besides, its obvious enough to imagine, that they may have sometimes contradicted themselves, on a Subject whereof they had no distinct Idea.

These two Remarks were necessary, to prevent the Questions which might be offer'd on these Matters ; and to shew, that in writing the History of these Doctrines, one should keep wholly to Facts, and the Terms of the Authors we treat of.

A Second Opinion of the *Platonists*, which has made a great noise in the World, is that of the Præ-existence of Souls, in places above the Moon,* of the Faults which they may have there committed ; of their banishments from these happy Abodes, to come to inhabit in differently disposed Bodies, according to the different Merits of these Souls ; in fine, of their return into places whence they drew their Original. We shall not trouble our selves to explain this Doctrine, because it belongs not to the Relation in hand ; having only made mention of it, for a particular Reason which will appear in its place.

* See *Plato's Timæus*.

The Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, having carried the Sciences of the *Greeks* into *Asia*, the *Jews*, who were in great numbers in these two Kingdoms, and who were obliged

to

to converse with them, learn'd of them their Opinions; and made no difficulty of embracing those, which did not appear to them contrary to their Religion. Their Books containing nothing inconsistent with sundry of the *Platonick* Doctrines; they believed therefore that these Doctrines might be true, and receiv'd them so much the more easily, in that they thought they might hereby defend their Religion against the *Pagans*, and make them relish it the better. *Plato* every where affirm'd the Unity of the Supreme Being, yet without denying that there are other Beings which may be called *Gods*, to wit, the Angels, which is agreeable to the Expressions of the Old Testament. And this is apparently one of the things which made the *Jews* better relish the Opinions of this Philosopher.

But we should give some particular Proofs of this: The Author of the Book of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, was plainly of the Opinion of the Pre-existence of Souls, as it appears from these words of chap. 8. ver. 19, 20. *For I was a witty Child, and had a good Spirit: Yea, rather, being good, I came into a Body undefiled.* The same Author has used the word (*Abv*) Reason, in some places, where *Plato* would have used it, were he to have said the same thing. Thus

in chap. 18. ver. 15, 16. in speaking of the Deliverer of the *Israelites*, he says, *Thy Almighty Reason descended from Heaven, out of thy Royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War into the midst of a Land of Destruction, and brought thine unfeigned Commandment, as a sharp Sword; and standing up, fill'd all things with Death; and it touch'd the Heaven, but it stood upon the Earth.* In chap 9. ver. 1. he says, *That God has made all things by his Reason.* It cannot be alledg'd, that he has been the only one of the *Jews* that has spoke in this manner; seeing that *Philo*, who liv'd a little while after Our Saviour, is full of the like Expressions; as several of the Learned have observed. Its known that this Author has so well imitated *Plato*, that he has been call'd the *Jewish Plato*. He believ'd that there was One only Supreme God, as all the rest of the *Jews* do, whom he calls *TO ON*, the *Being through Excellency*. But he further acknowledg'd a Divine Nature, which he calls *ΛΟΓΟΣ*, the *Reason*; as well as *Plato*: And another whom he calls likewise the *Soul of the World*. His Writings are so full of these manner of speaking, that there is no need of offering * Instances.

Vid. De
sens. Fid.
Nicen. S. I.
c. 1. & S. 16;
17.

The Jews were of these Opinions when Our Saviour and his Apostles came into the World : And this is perhaps the Reason why we find, accordingly as it has been observed by several learned Men, several Platonick Phrases in the New Testament, especially in the Gospel of St. John.

It's well known, that *Amelius* the Platonick Philosopher, having read the beginning of this Gospel, remarked, that this Apostle spake like *Plato*. In effect, this Philosopher might have said, according to his Principles, *The Reason was in the beginning with God : She it is who hath made all things, who is Life, and the Light of Men, &c.* We find several Passages in *Philo*, like to this. This Jewish Philosopher calls *Reason*, the Priest, the Mediator between God and Men, the Eldest Son of God, &c. Wherein it is observable, that he mixes his Jewish Notions, with the manners of Speaking of *Plato*. He has likewise used in one place, the term *Paraclete* *, Intercessor, in speaking of the Reason : *It was necessary (said he) that the High-Priest who is to offer Sacrifices to the Father of the World, should have for Intercessor — him of his Sons, whose Vertue is the most*

* De Vit.
Mos. p. 521.
Edit. Gen.
Græco-Lat.

most perfect, for to obtain the Pardon of Sins, and abundant Graces. He had said, * that Moses denoted by the *Manna*, and by the *Rock* of the Desert, the same Reason : **Quod Det. Pot. Insid. p. 137.* The Prophet (says he) calls elsewhere this *Rock, Manna* ; a name which signifies the same thing, to wit, the Divine Reason, the most Ancient of Beings. Our Saviour Christ calls himself, *Paraclete*, in St. John, chap. 14. 16. when he promises his Apostles to send them another *Paraclete*. He says likewise, that he is the *True Bread*, in opposition to the *Manna*, which could be no more than a Shadow of it. And St. Paul says, that the *Stone* of the Desert, was *Christ*, 1 Cor. 10. 4. These ways of speaking which are found, in St. John, to be the *True Bread*, the *True Vine* ; and which denote, that he to whom they are applied, is able to produce in Mens Spirits as much Efficacy, in another kind of things, as the Bread and Wine produce in the Body : These ways of speaking, I say, were particular to the *Platonists*, as has been observed elsewhere.

We might give several other Examples of Platonick Phrases, to be met with in the New Testament : But it will be sufficient to remark here, That the Apostles apply to our Saviour *Christ*, Passages of the Old Testament, which *Philo* had applied to the Reason ; and that this Jewish Philo-

sopher has given to this same *Reason* most of the Titles which the Apostles have given to *Jesus Christ*.

The *Pagans*, who had then embraced the Gospel, and who were in some measure vers'd in the Heathen Philosophy, remarking this resemblance of Terms, persuaded themselves that the Apostles believ'd the same things, in respect of these Matters, as the Platonick *Jews* and *Pagans*. And this seems to be that which drew several Philosophers of this Sect into the Christian Religion, and giv'n such a great Esteem to the Primitive Christians, for *Plato*. *Justin*

* *Pag. 48.*
Edit. Col.
An. 1686.

Martyr, in his First *Apology*, says, ' * That
' *Jesus Christ* was known in part by *Socrates*; for the *Reason* was and is still the
' same which is in every Man: It is She
' that has foretold the Future by the Prophets; and who being become subject to
' the same Infirmities as we, has instructed
' us by her self. — He says more-

† *Pag. 51.*
ejusd. edit.

over, † *That the Opinions of Plato, are not*
remote from those of Jesus Christ. And this
has made likewise *St. Augustine* to say,
' That if the ancient Platonists were such
' as they were described, and were to rise
' again, they would freely embrace Christianity, in changing || some few Words and
' Opinions, — which most of the late
Platonists, and those of his time had done:

|| *De Ver.*
Rel. c. 3.
Vid. & Ep.
LVI.

Paucis

Paucis mutatis verbis atque sententiis, Christiani fierent, sicut plerique recentiorum, nostrorumque temporum Platonici fecerunt.

Tertullian affirms, in his *Apology*, * That ^{Cap. XXI.} when the Christians say, ' That God has ' made the Universe by his Word, by his ' Reason, and by his Power; they speak ' only after the sage Heathens, who tell us, ' That God has made the World by his ' (ΑΛΛΟ) Word, or Reason.

Clemens Alexandrinus has likewise believ'd that *Plato* held the Doctrine of the Blessed *Trinity* (as I have observed in the *Life* of that Father.)

Origen against *Celsus*, does not deny, but that *Plato* spake the truth, in speaking of † God, and of his Son: He only main- † *Lib. 6.* tains, that he did not make such a just Use ^{pag. 279,} as he ought of his Knowledge. He does ^{& 289,} not say, that the Foundation of the Christian Doctrine is different in this from that of *Plato*, but that this Philosopher had learn'd it from the Jews.

Constantine, in his Harangue to the † *Saints*, after having prais'd *Plato*, in that † *Cap. IX.* he was the first Philosopher who brought Men to the Contemplation of Intellectual Things; thus goes on: ' He has spoken ' of a First God, who is above all Essences, ' wherein he has done well. He has like- ' wise submitted to him a Second, and has ' distin-

'distinguish Two Essences in number,
 ' (*Δύς ὄντας τὰς ἀπειράτους ἀεὶ λα,*) the Per-
 'fection of the one being the same as that
 ' of the other; and the Essence of the
 ' Second God taking his Existence from
 ' the First. For it is He who is the Author
 ' and the Director of all things, being
 ' Above All. He that is after him, having
 ' executed his Orders, attributes to Him,
 ' as to the Supreme Cause, the Production
 ' of the Universe. There is then but One,
 ' to speak properly, who takes care to pro-
 ' vide for All, to wit, the *Reason*, who is
 ' God, and who has set all things in their
 ' Order. This *Reason* being God, is like-
 ' wise the *Son of God*; for who can call
 ' him otherwise, without committing a
 ' great Fault? He that is the Father of all
 ' things, is justly said to be the Father of
 ' his own proper Reason. HITHERTO
 ' PLATO HAS SPOKE LIKE A WISE
 ' MAN. (*Μιχρὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ Πλάτῳ σῶ-
 ' φρων ἦν,*) but he has varied from the
 ' Truth, in introducing a multiplicity of
 ' Gods, and in giving to each of 'em his
 ' Form. — We might cite several other
 ' such like Passages, whereby one might see,
 ' that several among the Fathers of the first
 ' three Centuries, have believ'd that the Opi-
 ' nion of *Plato*, and that of the Apostles, was
 ' the same.

If we consider, that the Question here, is about things of which we have naturally no *Idea*; and which is even Incomprehensible, supposing Revelation; and of which one can only speak in metaphorical and improper Language, it will then appear to us no wonder, it since the Apostles times, there have arose several Opinions on this Subject. Thus the *Ebionites* are charged to have denied the Pre-existence of Our Saviour's Divinity, and to have held that he was only a meer Man. These *Ebionites* have remain'd a long time, seeing that not only *Justin Martyr* and *St. Irenæus* do mention them, but *St. Jerom* seems to take notice that they were in his time. It's affirm'd, That *Artemon*, under the Emperor *Severus*, and *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch*, under the Emperor *Aurelius*, maintain'd the same Opinions.

Cerintus, on the contrary, held the Pre-existence of the *Reason*, which he call'd the *Christ*; and affirm'd, that she had descended on Jesus, in the form of a Dove, when he was Baptiz'd; and that she ascended up into Heaven, when he was Crucify'd. It is indeed very difficult to affirm, that this was precisely the Opinions of these Hereticks, because we have nothing remaining to us of them, and that we cannot fully trust those who speak of 'em only with detestation,

testation, seeing it might easily be, that their great Zeal has hindred them from well comprehending them. And this is a Remark which we must make, in respect of all the Ancient Hereticks, whose Opinions are denoted to us only from the Writings of their Adversaries.

* Synod.
Const. ap.
Theod. l. 5.
c. 9. Da-
masus a-
pud eun-
dem, c. 11.

About the Middle of the Third Century, *Sabellius* of *Ptolemais* in *Lybia*, produced a new Opinion, which was condemned in *Egypt*, and afterwards every where. He was charg'd with * *confounding the Hypostases*, and for denying the Properties which distinguish the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost; and for having said, *That the Father is the same as the Son*. Whereas *Plato* and his Followers reckon'd Three Numerical Essences. It seems, that *Sabellius* would acknowledge but One, whom he call'd the Father, the Son, or Holy Spirit, in divers regards. It's said that some others had maintain'd the same thing before and after him, as *Noet* and *Beryllus* of *Botfra*.

A while after *Sabellius*, appear'd *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch*, who was (as we have said) of the *Ebionites* Sentiment, in relation to our Saviour's Divinity. Although the word *ὁμοούσιος* had been used in the Platonick Philosophy, to signify what is of the same kind, as has been observ'd already, (and as may be seen

in

in *Bull's Defence of the Nicene Council*, §. 2. chap. 1.) Yet the Council which met at *Antioch*, to Condemn *Paul of Samosotia*, Condemn'd likewise this Term. But its hard to find in what sence it was taken, because the *Acts* of this Council are lost, and we know nothing of them, but by what *St. Athanasius*, * and * *Vid. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. §. 2. c. 1. & §. 10, & seq.* some others extremely interess'd to uphold this word, have said in their Disputes against the *Arians*. If we believe them, the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch* said, that the Father and the Son were not *consubstantial*, in the same sence wherein we say that two pieces of Money made of the same Metal are *consubstantial*, because that these pieces suppose a pre-existent Matter, of which they have been form'd : Whereas the Father and the Son do not suppose the like substance. *Paulus Samosatenus* said, that if the Son had not been made God, we must suppose that he is of the same kind of Essence as that of the Father ; and that thus there must have been an anterior substance to the one and to the other, of which they must have been form'd. *St. Athanasius* assures us, † that the term of † *In lib. de Syn. Arim. & Seleu. Tom. 1. p. 919, & seq.* *Homoeousios* was condemn'd at *Antioch*, in as much only as it might include the *Idea* of a Matter anterior to things which we call *Coeffentials*.

These

These are the chief Heretical Opinions touching the Divinity of Jesus Christ, which appear'd before the Council of *Nice*. As for the Fathers, which are respected as Orthodox, they have not varied from the Expressions of the *Platonists*; and as these have sometimes said, that the Reason is different from the Supreme Being; and sometimes, that they are both one. The Fathers have exprest themselves in the same terms. The *Platonists* have said, That the Father could not be without the Son, nor the Son without the Father; as the Light could not be without the Sun, nor the Sun without Light: And the Fathers have said the same thing. Both one and the other have acknowledged that the Reason has existed before the World, and that he has produced it; and as *Plato* speaks in his *Timæus*, and *Plotinus* in his *Enneades*, of the Generation of Reason, as if the Good it self had produced it, to create and govern the World: So the Fathers have said, that the Son hath proceeded in some manner from the Father, before the Creation of the World, to manifest himself to Men by his Production; and that hence it is that the Scripture calls him the *Son of God*, and his *First-born*.

Sometimes they say there was a time in which the Son was not; sometimes, that he was

was from Everlasting as well as the Father ; sometimes they affirm they are Equal ; and elsewhere they say the Father is Greatest. Some of them believe that the Father and Son are *two Hypostases, two Natures, two Essences*, as appears from the passage of *Pierius*, related by * *Photius* ; others deny it. * *Cod. CXIX.*
To bring Instances of all this, would be too great an Enlargement for this place ; and there being enough to be seen in *Bull's Book* which we have already cited.

If it be demanded at present, what *Idea's* they fix'd to these Expressions ; it cannot be affirm'd that they have been clear. First, Because whatever Endeavours are used to understand what they say, a Man can get no distinct Notion thereof. And, Secondly, Because they acknowledge themselves, that it is a thing Incomprehensible. All that can be done on this occasion, is to relate the Terms which they have used, to the end that it may be seen how they have heretofore express'd themselves on this Matter. However, learned Men have given themselves a great deal of trouble to explain the Passages of the Fathers who liv'd before the Council of *Nice*, without considering, that all their Explications are fruitless ; seeing the Fathers, in acknowledging, that what they said was Incomprehensible, acknowledg'd at the same time, that they
fix'd

fix'd no *Idea* on the Terms they used, unless such as were general and confused.

Had the Matter staid here, there had never been such great Disputes on the Sentiments of the Antients, touching this Mystery; seeing the Dispute doth not so much lie on the Terms they have used, as the *Idea's* they have fasten'd to them, which cannot be reduced to any thing that is clear. Sometimes they use Terms which seem perfectly to agree with those which have been used since; but there is found in some other places of their Works, Expressions which seem to overthrow what they had said; so that one cannot form any Notion of what they thought.

Lactantius, for Example, answers thus to the Heathens, who ask'd the Christians, how they said they acknowledged but One God, seeing they gave this Name to the Father, and to the Son? * * When we call the Father God, and the Son God, we do not lay that each of them is a different God: And we do not separate them; because the Father cannot be without the Son, nor the Son separated from the Father: He cannot be called Father, without his Son; nor the Son be begotten, without his Father. Seeing then that the Father makes the Son, and that the Son is made, the one and the other has the same Intellect,

* *Instit. l. 4.*
c. 29. p. 403.
Ed. Oxon.

‘Intellect, One only Spirit, and One only
 ‘Substance ; *UNA UTRIQUE MENS,*
 ‘*UNUS SPIRITUS, UNA SUBSTAN-*
 ‘*TIA.* — These are Words which seem
 to be decisive ; and had *Lactantius* held to
 these Expressions, he had never been accu-
 sed of Heterodoxy : But if he be question’d
 what he means by the word *Unus*, whether
 it be a *Numerical Unity*, or an *Unity of Con-*
sent and Resemblance, he will appear deter-
 min’d to this latter sence : ‘ * When any * *Ib. p. 104*
 ‘one (says he) has a Son whom he dearly
 ‘loves, and who dwells in the House, and
 ‘under the governing Power of his Father,
 ‘although the Father grants him the Name
 ‘and Authority of a Master ; yet, in the
 ‘terms of Civilians, here is but one House,
 ‘and one Master. So this World is but
 ‘one House belonging to God ; and the
 ‘Son and the Father who inhabit the World,
 ‘and who are of one Mind (*Unanimes*) are
 ‘One only God ; the One being as the
 ‘Two, and the Two as the One. And
 ‘this ought not to appear strange, seeing
 ‘the Son is in the Father ; because the Fa-
 ‘ther loveth the Son, and the Father is in
 ‘the Son, by reason of his faithful Resig-
 ‘nation to his Father’s Will ; and that he
 ‘does nothing, nor never did do any thing,
 ‘unless what the Father has will’d, or com-
 ‘manded him, — We may read further,
 the

the 6th. Chap. of the 4th. Book, which begins thus ; God, who has conceived and produced all Things, before he began this curious Work of the World, begat a Spirit Holy and Incorruptible, that he might call him his Son. Although he has produced infinite others, whom we call Angels, for his Ministry ; yet he has vouchsafed to give the Name of Son to his First-born, who is clothed with the Vertue and Majesty of his Father.

* L.2. c.9.
in Ed. Be-
tuleii.

That which is particular in this, is, That though *Lactantius* says, That the Son is Co-eternal with the Father ; yet he says, there was a time when he was not : * *Sicut mater sine exemplo genuit auctorem suum ; sic ineffabiliter Pater genuisse credendus est Co-æternam. De Matre natus est qui ante jam fuit ; de Patre qui aliquando non fuit. Hoc fides credat, intelligentia non requirat, ne aut non inventum putet incredibile, aut repertum non credat singulare.* It's true, this Passage is not to be found in some Manuscripts ; and that several learned Men have fancy'd that some sly Heretick has corrupted *Lactantius's* Works : But in other places, wherein all the Manuscripts do agree, *Lactantius* expresses himself after the same manner : And it may be replied, with as much likelihood, that it has been the Orthodox Revisors who have cut off what they

they thought not fit to be made publick.

Lactantius has been long ſince charg'd with Heterodoxy; but in this reſpect, he has been no more faulty than other Fathers, who liv'd before the Council of *Nice*, whoſe Expreſſions are as different as thoſe of the *Platonists*, in matter of the Trinity. And this has made Father *Petean* and Mr. *Huet* to charge them with favouring the *Arian* Sentiments; whiſt other learned Men have maintain'd that they have been far from theſe. Each of them cites his Paſſages; which examin'd apart, ſeem to decide for him. But when one comes to compare theſe Paſſages with one another, it cannot be comprehended how the ſame Perſons could ſpeak ſo differently. In this compariſon, their Expreſſions are found ſo obſcure, and ſo full of apparent Contradictions, or real ones, that a Man feels himſelf obliged to believe that the Fathers had done a great deal better in keeping themſelves to the Terms of the Apoſtles; and to have acknowledged, that they underſtood them not, then to throw themſelves into ſuch Labyrinths, by endeavouring to explain them.

To ſhew further, That the Expreſſions of the Fathers are only fit to produce confuſed Notions, and ſuch as are contrary to thoſe which all Chriſtians at this day hold;
we

we need only read *Tertullian*, who having said, in his *Apology*, chap. 21. That the Nature of Reason is Spiritual; adds, *Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, & prolatione Generatum, & idcirco Filium, & Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ, nam & Deus Spiritus est.* But what means *Prolatione Genitus*? The Terms of *Unity of Substance*, may signify, not only of the same Substance in Number; but moreover, of a like Substance, that is to say, spiritually and equally perfect. And what he adds, seems to favour this last sense; *Etiam cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa, sed Sol erit in radio, quia Solis est radius; nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur.* The Substance of a Ray, after what manner soever we conceive it, is not the same in Number as that of the Sun: And *Tertullian* says, that it is the same of the Son; *Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus*; Thus a Spirit is born of a Spirit, and a God of a God. *Ut Lumen de lumine accenditur, manet integra, & indefecta materiæ matrix, etsi plures inde traduces qualitatum mutueris*; As when we light one Torch by another, the Light which has lighted the other, remains entire, and without being wasted, although we light several Torches, who have the same qualities. *Ita & quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, & Dei Filius*
& unus

¶ *unus ambo. Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus modulo alternum numerum gradu, non statu fecit, & à matrice non recessit, sed excessit* ; So what proceeds from God, is God, and Son of God, and both are but one ; so the Spirit which is born of a Spirit, and the God who is born of a God, makes Two, in respect of Degree, but not in respect of his State ; he has not been separated from the Womb, or from his Original, but is gone out of it.

These Words of *Tertullian* do not appear at first sight agreeable with *Arius's* Opinion ; but at most, they contain nothing that is clear ; for one might have demanded of *Tertullian*, whether by this *Prolation* he speaks of, the Reason has existed as Light from a Torch, lighted by another Torch, exists as soon as it is lighted ? Should he allow it, he might have been told, that to speak strictly, there must have been Two Gods ; seeing that, in fine, two Spirits, though exactly equal, and strictly united, are two Spirits. If this be so, the second Spirit being not form'd of the same Numerical Substance, as that of the first, one might say with *Arius*, that he has been *extracted from nothing* ; and there would be in this regard, nothing but a Dispute about Words, between *Arius* and *Tertullian*. But if it be answer'd for *Tertullian*;

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That his Comparison is not good ; it will be ask'd, Why he made use of a Comparison which may lead into Error, especially having said before, that he was of *Plato's* Opinion touching the *Reason* ? If he meant, that the Father has produced in his proper Substance, without multiplying it, a *Modification*, in respect of which, one may call the Substance of the Father, Son ; why does he say, *Spiritus ex Spiritu, ex Deo, Deus* ? For, to speak properly, the Father has produced neither a Spirit, nor a God, but a new manner of Being in his proper Substance.

It is further to be observed, That this Comparison is not of *Tertullian* alone, but of *Justin Martyr*, and a great number of Fathers besides, before and after the Council of *Nice* ; and that there is no Passage which appears of greater force than that, yet the Equivocation of it is apparent.

The Fathers have likewise used the term *Hypostasis*, as well as the *Platonists*, in two senses ; sometimes for the Existence taken in an abstracted manner, and sometimes for the thing it self, which exists. The Equivocation of this Term, and that of the Words, *One and Many*, which (as has been shew'd) are taken sometimes from the Unity, and the Plurality *Specificals* ; and sometimes from the Unity and Plurality

Nume-

Numericals, have caus'd great Controversies among the Fathers, as divers learned Men have * observed. But it is fit we ^{*Petavius, Curcellanus, Huetius, &c.} should take notice of one thing, which is, that *Bull*, who has writ prolixly on this Matter, has not a word of the *Numerical* and *Specifick Unity*; without which, a Man cannot comprehend what the Fathers mean, nor draw any Conclusions from them against the Hereticks. Yet when they say there are *three Hypostases*, or *three Essences*, or *three Natures*, he constantly takes it as if they said, there are three Modifications in one only Numerical Essence. He supposes, that the *Οὐσία Essence*, and *Φύσις Nature*, signifie Manners of Existing of one Numerical Essence, only because that without this, those who have thus spoken of it, would not have been Orthodox, or of the Opinion at present receiv'd, which the Council must have approv'd of, seeing otherwise it would not have been admitted as it is. He supposes, on the contrary, for the same Reasons, that when the Fathers deny there are *Three Hypostases*, they do not barely mean, that there are not *Three Essences* of different Kinds, but that they are not *Three in Number*. But others will deny there is any place, where the words *Nature* and *Essence* can be taken for what we at this day call *Personality*, which is to

H 2 say,

say, for a Modification ; and that it appears from the Passages which he cites, that the Fathers held the *Numerical Unity*.

And this was the Condition of the Christian Church, when the Quarrels of *Arius* disturb'd it. Whence may be seen, that it was no hard matter for the two Parties to cite Authorities of the Antients, whose Equivocal Expressions might be interpreted in divers senses. The Obscurity of the Subject, the vain Subtilty of Humane Understanding, which would know every thing, the Desire of appearing able, and the Passion which mingles it self in all Disputes, gave Birth to these Controversies, which for a long time tore Christianity into pieces.

Arius being a Priest of *Alexandria*, about the Year 318, undertook, as it seems, to explain more clearly the Doctrine of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, which had been till that time taught in the Christian Church, under the Veil of those Terms which we have recited. He said, that to *beget*, in this subject, was nothing else but to *produce* : whence he concluded, that the Divinity of Jesus Christ had been extracted out of nothing by the Father. Here's how he expresses himself, in a Letter which he wrote to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* :

* *Ap. Theod.*
l. 1. c. 5.

* We make profession to believe, that the

' Son

‘ Son is not without Generation, and that
 ‘ he is not a part of that which is unbegot-
 ‘ ten, nor of any other Pre-existent Matter
 ‘ whatever ; but that by the Will and Coun-
 ‘ cil (of God) he has been perfect God
 ‘ (*ὁμοῦς ὁ Θεός*) before all Time and Ages ;
 ‘ that he is his only Son, and that he is not
 ‘ subject to change ; that before he was be-
 ‘ gotten or created, he was not. ———

Arius was counted an able * Logician, and
 was in good esteem with his Bishop *Alex-* * *Sozom.*
ander ; but speaking freely his mind, he *l. i. c. 15.*
 drew on him the hatred of one † *Melece*, † *Epiphan.*
 Bishop in *Thebais*, who had caus’d a Schism *in Her.*
 in *Egypt*, although he did not much vary *LXIX.*
 from the common Opinions, only because
 he would not receive into Communion the
 Priests who had fallen in the *Dioclesian* Perse-
 cution, but after a long Penance, and would
 have them for ever depriv’d of their Office.

One may see the History of this in
St. Epiphanius, who accuses him for having
 (*Ἐδελοδοκασίαν*) an affected Devotion,
 and taking up a particular way of living, to
 to make himself admired by the People.
Arius had moreover another Enemy, named
Alexander, and surnamed *Baucalas* ||, who
 was also an Associate Priest with him. He * *Philost.*
 joined himself to *Melece*, to complain to *l. i. c. 4.*
 the Bishop of *Alexandria*, that *Arius* sowed
 a new Doctrine touching the Divinity of

* *Epiph.*

our Saviour Christ. He could the better spread his Opinions, in that having a particular Church at *Alexandria* committed * to his care, he preach'd there what he thought fit. He drew such a great number of People into his Opinions, that there were Seven hundred Religious Votaries who had embraced them, and consequently a greater number among the Ordinary People. It's said, that he was a Man of large Shape, of a severe Countenance, yet of a very agreeable Conversation.

† *Sozom.*

† *Alexander* thought, that in a Matter wherein one might easily equivocate, it were best to let the two Parties explain themselves, to the end it might appear, that he had accorded them more by Persuasion than Force. He brought the two Parties to a Conference, in demanding of them the Explication of a Passage of Scripture, in the Presence of the Clergy of his Church: But neither one nor the other of these Parties would yield, endeavouring only to vanquish. *Arius* his Adversaries maintained, that the Son is of the same Essence (*ὁμοούσιον*) as the Father, and that he is Eternal as he is; and *Arius* pretended that the Generation denoted a Beginning. There was another Meeting call'd, as fruitless as the first, in respect of the Dispute; but by which, it seems, *Alexander*, who had before

fore not any precise determined Sentiment on this Matter, was induced to embrace the Opinion of *Arius* his Adversaries. He afterwards commanded this Priest to *believe* the same thing (*Ὁμοίως περνεῖν ἐκέλευσε*) and to abandon the opposite Opinion.

But it being seldom known that Men yield Obedience to these kind of Injunctions, *Arius* remained still in the same Opinion, as well as several other Bishops and Ecclesiasticks who had approved of it. *Alexander*, angry at his not being obey'd, Excommunicated him, with all those of his Party, and oblig'd him to depart out of *Alexandria*. There were, among others, five Priests of this City, and as many Deacons of the same Church, besides some Bishops of *Egypt*, as *Secondas* and *Theonas*. To them were joined a great number of People, some of which did in effect approve the Doctrine of *Arius*, and others thought that he had been condemned with too high an hand, without entring into the Discussion of the Controversie.

After this Severity, the two Parties endeavoured to make their Opinions and Conduct be approved by Letters which they sent every where. They exposed not only their Reasons, but endeavoured to render odious the opposite Party, by the Consequences they drew from their Opinions and

in attributing to them strange Expressions. Some Bishops, as *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, exhorted *Alexander* to reconcile himself with *Arius*, and others approv'd his Conduct, and advised him not to receive him into his Communion till he retracted.

The Letters of *Alexander* and *Arius* are too considerable to be here omitted : Here's then the summ of them :

* Ap. E-
piph. in Hej.
LXIX. &
Theoder.
l. 1. c. 5.

Arius wrote to * *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*,
to entreat his Protection against *Alexan-
der*, who had excommunicated him, and
driven him out of *Alexandria*, because
he could not grant him, that the Father
and the Son are Co-eternal ; that the Son
co-exists with the Father without Gene-
ration, having been always begotten, and
not begotten at the same time, without
letting it be imagined that the Father has
existed so much as one Moment before the
Son. — He added, That *Eusebius*
Bishop of *Cæsarea*, *Theodotus* of *Laodicea*,
Paulinus of *Tyre*, *Athanasius* of *Anazarba*,
Gregory of *Beryta*, and *Ætius* of *Lydea*,
condemning the Sentiments of *Alexander*,
had been likewise struck with an Anathema,
as well as all the Eastern People who were
of the same Opinions, except *Philogonius*
Bishop of *Antioch*, *Hellanicus* of *Tripoly*,
and *Macarius* of *Jerusalem*, one of which
said, That the Son was an *Eructation*, the
other

other a *Projection*; and the other, that he was not begotten, no more than the Father. — To this *Arius* added the Explanation of his Opinion, which we have already related.

The Bishop * of *Nicomedia* having received this Letter, call'd a Synod of his Province of *Bythinia*, which wrote Circular Letters to all the Eastern Bishops, to induce them to receive *Arius* into Communion, as maintaining the Truth, and to engage *Alexander* to do as much. We have still a Letter of *Eusebius* to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, wherein he not only intreats *Paulinus* to intercede for *Arius*, but wherein he exposes and defends his Sentiments with great clearness. He says, 'He has never heard there were Two Beings without Generation, nor that the One has been parted into Two; but that this single Being had begotten another, not of his Substance, but perfectly like to him, although of a different Nature and Power: That not only we cannot express by Words the Beginning of the Son, but that is even Incomprehensible to those Intellectual Beings which are above Men, as well as to us. — To prove this, he cites the 8th. of the *Proverbs*, *God the Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways, before his works of old: I was set up from Everlasting, and he has begotten*

* *Sozom. II.*

begotten me before the mountains were brought forth. He says, 'That we must not search
' in the Term of *Begetting*, any other
' signification than that of *Producing*; be-
' cause the Scripture does not only use it in
' reference to the Son, but moreover in
' speaking of Creatures; as when God
' says, *I have begotten Children, and I have*
' *brought them up, but they have rebelled*
' *against me.*

But these Letters not having had the Success which *Arius* expected, he sent to get leave of *Paulinus*, of *Eusebius*, and *Patrophilus* Bishop of *Scythopolis*, to gather those who were of his Opinion into a Church, and to exercise among them the Office of a Priest, as he was wont to do before, and as was done at *Alexandria*. These Bishops having Convocated the other Bishops of *Palestine*, granted him what he demanded, but ordered him however to remain subject to *Alexander*, and to omit nothing to obtain Communion with him.

There is extant a Letter of *Arius*, directed to this Bishop, * and written from *Nicomedia*, which contains a Confession of Faith, according to the Doctrine which *Arius* affirm'd that *Alexander* himself had taught him; wherein, after having denoted his Belief touching the Father, which includes nothing Heterodox, he adds, 'That he hath
' begot.

* *Apud E-
piph. II.*

' begotten his only Son before the times
 ' Eternal ; that it is by him, that he has
 ' made the World ; that he has begotten
 ' him, not only in Appearance, but in Rea-
 ' lity ; that this Son subsists by his own
 ' Will ; that he is unmoveable ; that he is
 ' a Creature of God that is perfect, and not
 ' as other Creatures ; that he is a Production,
 ' but not as other Productions : Nor as *Val-*
 ' *entinian* said, a *Projection* of the Father :
 ' Nor as *Manes* affirm'd, a *Consubstantial*
 ' Part of the Father : Nor as *Sabellius* call'd
 ' him, a *Son Father* (*Υιουπατρις* :) Nor as
 ' *Hieracas* spake, a Lamp lighted by a
 ' Lamp, or a Torch divided into two ;
 ' that he did not exist before he was begot-
 ' ten, and became a Son ; that there are
 ' three *Hypostases* (that is to say, different
 ' Substances) the Father, the Son, and the
 ' Holy Spirit ; and that the Father is before
 ' the Son, although the Son was created
 ' before all Ages. *Arius* adds, that *Alex-*
 ' *ander* had several times preach'd this Do-
 ' ctrine in the Church, and refuted those
 ' who did not receive it. This Letter is
 ' sign'd by Six Priests, Seven Deacons, and
 ' Three Bishops. *Secundus* of *Pentapolis*,
 ' *Theonas* of *Lybia*, and *Pistus* whom the
 ' *Arian* Bishops had Establish't at *Alexan-*
 ' *dria*.

' *Alexan-*

* *Socrat.*
l. 1. c. 6.

* *Alexander* * wrote on his side Circular
 * Letters, wherein he sharply censures *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, in that he protected
 * *Arius*, and recommended him to others.
 * He joins to this the Names of those who
 * had been Excommunicated, and explains
 * their Doctrine, wherein he contents not
 * himself to set down what we have seen in
 * *Arius's* his *Letters*, touching the Beginning
 * which he attributes to the Son ; he
 * says moreover, that this Priest maintain'd,
 * that the Son is one of the Creatures ; that
 * we cannot call him the Reason and Wisdom
 * of the Father, but improperly, seeing that
 * he himself has been produced by the Reason
 * and Wisdom of God ; that he is subject
 * to change, as other Intelligent Creatures ;
 * that he is of another Essence than God ;
 * that the Father is Incomprehensible to
 * him, and that he doth not so much as
 * know what his proper substance is ; that
 * he has been made for our sakes, to serve
 * God as an Instrument in Creating us ; and
 * that without this, God had never begotten
 * him. *Alexander* adds, That having assembled
 * near a hundred Bishops of *Egypt*
 * and *Lybia*, they had Excommunicated
 * *Arius* and his Followers, by reason of his
 * Opinions. — He afterwards comes to
 * prove this, and shews first, The Eternity
 * of the Son, by this passage of *St. John*, *In the*
Beginning

Beginning was the Reason. 2. That he cannot be reckoned among the Creatures; because the Father says of him, in the 45th Psalm, *My Heart has uttered (eructavit) a good Word.* 3. That he is not unlike the Essence of the Father, of which he is the perfect Image, and the Splendor, and of whom he says, *He that has seen me, has seen the Father.* 4. That we cannot say, There was a time in which he was not, seeing that he is the Reason, and the Wisdom of the Father; and that it will be absurd to say, There was a time in which the Father was without Reason and Wisdom. 5. That he is not subject to change; because the Scripture says, *He is the same yesterday and to day.* 6. That he was not made because of us; seeing St. Paul says, That it is *because of him, and by him, that all things are.* 7. That the Father is not Incomprehensible to the Son; seeing he says, *As the Father knows me, so I know the Father.*

This Letter, wherein Eusebius of Nicomedia is extremely ill treated, shock't this Bishop to the utmost Point; and having great access to the Court, because Constantine made then his abode at Nicomedia; this occasion'd divers Bishops to be at his devotion: But he could not engage Alexander to forget what had past, to speak

no more of this Controversie, and to receive *Arius* into Communion. The Quarrels every day grew hotter, and the People were seen to range themselves, some taking *Arius's* side, others *Alexander's*; and the Comedians being Gentiles, this gave them occasion to make a Sport of Christian Religion on their Theatres.

Each side treated one another with the odious Name of Heretick, and endeavoured to shew, that the Sentiments of the opposite Party overthrew the Christian Religion; but it appears, that neither the one nor the other Party could yet persuade the Emperor, seeing he wrote to *Alexander* and to *Arius*, a long Letter, of which *Hosius* Bishop of *Cordavia* was the Bearer, wherein he equally chides them: He says, he found that

* *Apud Euseb. de Vit. Const. c. 64. de Seq. de Socrat. l. 1. c. 7.*

the Controversie * had begun in this manner; That *Alexander* having demanded of each of his Priests, what they thought of a Passage of Scripture, or rather, on an idle sort of Question (*ὡς εἰπὼν μακάριος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς*,) *Arius* inconsiderately answered what he should not have thought, or rather conceal'd, if he had thought it, ' That from thence had come his Excommunication, ' and the Division of the People. And therefore he exhorted them to a mutual pardoning of one another, and to receive his Opinion, which was, That it had been ' better

‘ better not have troubled the Ecclesiasticks
 ‘ with this Question ; and that those who
 ‘ were ask’d it, should have held their
 ‘ Tongues, because the matter concern’d
 ‘ what was equally incomprehensible to
 ‘ both Parties, and which serv’d only to
 ‘ raise Disturbances among the People. He
 ‘ could not conceive, how for a Question
 ‘ of very small importance, and in which,
 ‘ if they well understood one another, they
 ‘ would find they agreed in the main, they
 ‘ should make such a bustle, and divide
 ‘ themselves in so scandalous a manner.

‘ I do not say this (adds he) as if I would
 ‘ constrain you to think the same thing on
 ‘ a most vain Question, or however you
 ‘ will please to call it. For one may, with-
 ‘ out dishonouring the Assembly, and with-
 ‘ out breaking the Communion, be in dif-
 ‘ ferent Sentiments in such inconsiderable
 ‘ things. We have not all the same Wills
 ‘ in all things, neither are we all of us
 ‘ of the same Temper of Body and Hu-
 ‘ mors.

‘ The Emperor’s Letter (says *Socrates*)
 ‘ gave them admirable Advice, and full of
 ‘ Wisdom ; but the Mischief was grown too
 ‘ great, and neither the Emperor’s Endeavours,
 ‘ nor his Authority who brought
 ‘ the Letter to *Alexandria*, could appease it.

Alexander

Alexander had taken care to write every where, to hinder the spreading of *Arius* his Opinions. We have still * a long Letter which he wrote to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, wherein he vehemently inveighs against the *Arian* Faction, and endeavours to render it odious, in saying, ' That *Arius* maintain'd, That the Son was of a Nature capable of Evil, as well as of Good, although it actually remain'd without Sin, and that it was for this, that God had chosen him for his Eldest Son. He proves the Eternity of the Son, and that he was not extracted from Nothing; because he was in the Beginning, and that all things have been made by him. Yet he holds, That the Son has been begotten, and that only the Father is without Generation, although the *Subsistence* or *Substance* of the Son (*υποστασις*) † be incomprehensible to the Angels themselves, and that there is none but melancholy Persons who can think of comprehending it. He afterwards shews, That the Manner after which Jesus Christ is the Son of God, is infinitely more excellent than the Manner after which Men are; seeing he is so by his Nature, we only by Adoption.

He accuses *Arius* with following the Doctrine of *Ebion* and *Artemas*, and for having imitated *Paul* of *Samosatia*, Bishop of

* *Ap. Theod.*
l. i. c. 4.

† *Valesius* renders that word in that Letter sometimes *Subsistentia*, and sometimes *Essentia* and *Substantia*, although it be in the same continued Discourse.

of *Antioch*, whose Doctrine had been embraced by *Lucien* (Martyr) who by reason of this, had separated himself from the Communion of three following Bishops of this City. He joyns to him three Bishops of *Syria*, who seem to have been *Paulinus*, *Eusebius* and *Theodotus*, and reproaches them with using Passages which relate to the Humiliation of Christ, to attack his Divinity, and to have forgotten those which speak of the Glory of his Nature, such as this is ; ‘ The Father and I are one : ‘ Which the Lord says (*adds he*) not to denote that he is the Father ; nor to say, ‘ that two Natures, in respect of the manner of existing (*τὴν ὑποστάσιν δύο φύσιν*) ‘ are but one ; but because the Son is of a ‘ Nature which exactly keeps the Paternal ‘ Resemblance, being by his Nature like to ‘ him in all things, the unchangeable Image ‘ of his Father, and a Copy of this Original. ‘ He afterwards defends himself largely ‘ against the Consequence which *Arius* drew ‘ from his Adversaries Sentiments, which ‘ consisted in accusing them, for denying ‘ the Generation of the Son, in making him ‘ Eternal. — He affirm’d, That there is ‘ an infinite difference between the Creation ‘ of the World, and the Generation of the ‘ Son, although this last be wholly Incomprehensible, and that he cannot explain it.

* Euseb. de
Vit. Conf.
l. 3. c. 4.

In the mean time, the Division encreased so greatly among the People, that in some places it came to a Sedition, wherein the very Statues * of the Emperor were thrown down, who appear'd to favour the *Arians*, because he would have 'em tolerated. There was moreover the Controversie about *Easter*, the one denying that it should be celebrated at the same time as the Jewish, and the others affirming it; but this Contest had not produced a Schism, as *Arianism* had done.

Constantine, seeing that these Letters had been fruitless, thought there was no better way to allay these Controversies, than to call a Council from all Parts of the *Roman Empire*. It was perhaps *Hofius* who gave him this Advice, at least if we may believe † *Philostorgus*, the Bishop of *Alexandria* being gone to *Nicomedia*, there assembled some Bishops of his Opinion, with whom *Hofius* and he consults to find out means to set up their Opinion, and to get that of *Arius* condemned; and a little while after, the Emperor call'd a Council at *Nice*, a Town of *Bythia*. || This was in the Year 325; and to the end that nothing might hinder the Bishops from coming, *Constantine* took on himself the Charges of their Journey. The Historians are not agreed in reference to the Number of 'em, some setting down more than Three hundred,

|| Euseb. in
Vit. Const.
l. 3. c. 6.

† L. I. c. 7.

dred, and * others less. We must not wonder at this diversity, seeing there are few Passages in Ecclesiastical History, wherein appears more Confusion and Neglect, than in the History of this famous Council. And therefore have we been obliged to extract what we are going to say, out of divers Historians; because none of the Antients has been compleat in his Relations. As to the diversity observable among the Historians on the same Facts, we have followed either the most ancient, or those which have appeared most probable.

* Eustathius of Antioch, says there were 270. Theod. l. 8. Constantin. 300. Socr. II. 9. Eusebius 252. Vit. Const. l. 3. c. 9. S. Athanas. 318.

Eusebius, who was present at the Council, has past very lightly over the Circumstances of this History apparently, lest he should either offend the *Arians*, or the *Orthodox*. This Affair has never been since discoursed of with an entire Dis-interests, Reports having been often related as certain Facts. In a word, There has never any thing happen'd, whereunto one may apply with more reason these words of *Tacitus*; *Maxima quæque ambigua sunt, dum alii quoquomodo audita pro compertis habent, alii vera in contrarium vertunt, & gliscit utrumque posteritati.* *Eusebius* vaunts very much the Bishops which were here: But † *Sabinus*, a * *Socrat.* Macedonian Bishop of *Heraclea*, a Town of *Thrace*, treats them as *Ignoramus's*, in his Collection of Councils. There was like-

l. 7.

wise a great number of Priests and Deacons who came in company with the Bishops.

The Council open'd the 14th. of *June*, and therein were regulated several things, which we shall not here take notice of, designing only to remark what past in relation to the principal Question therein decided, to wit *Arianism*. As soon as ever the Bishops were arrived, they made particular Assemblies without any interruption, and sent for *Arius* * to them, to inform themselves of his Opinions. After they had heard from him what he thought, some of 'em were for condemning all sorts of Novelties, and to content themselves in speaking of the Son, in the same terms their Predecessors had used ; and others affirm'd, that the Opinions of the Antients were not to be received without examining. There were seventeen Bishops (according to † *Ib. c. 20.* † *Sozomen*) who favoured *Arius* his new Explications, the chief of which were *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, *Menophantes* of *Ephesus*, *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Narcissus* of *Neroniadas*, *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*. These Bishops drew up a Confession of Faith || according to their Sentiments : but they had no sooner read it in the Assembly, but it was cry'd out upon as false ; 'twas torn in pieces, and they

* *Sozom.*

l. 7. & 19.

† *Ib. c. 20.*

|| *Theodor.*

l. 1. c. 7. ex

Athanasio.

they were reproach'd with it, as Persons who would (as they said) betray the Faith and Godhead of Christ. A Letter of *Eusebius* of *Nicodemia*, wherein he exprest his Thoughts, had the same lot.

Afterwards, a *Creed* was undertaken to be made, wherein the Opinions contrary to those of *Arius* were established. It was immediately observ'd, that the new ways of speaking which the *Arians* used, were to be condemned, *That the Son had been extracted from Nothing ; That he was a Creature ; That there was a time wherein he was not, &c.* And Scripture Phrases were to be used, such as these ; *That the Son is Only-Begotten, the Reason, Power, Wisdom of the Father, the Brightness of his Glory, and Character of his Power.* The *Arians* having shew'd that they were ready to admit a Confession exprest in these terms ; the Orthodox Bishops feard lest they should expound these terms in an ill sence. And therefore they were for adding, *That the Son is of the Substance of the Father ;* because this is that which distinguishes the Son from the Creatures. Hereupon the *Arians* were ask'd, whether they acknowledged, *That the Son is not a Creature, but the Power, the only Wisdom and Image of the Father ; That he is Eternal, and like to the Father in all things ; in fine, True God.* The

Heterodox having spoken among themselves, believ'd that these Expressions might very well agree with the Notion they had of the Divinity of the Son, and denoted they were ready to receive them.

In fine, It being observed, that *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, in the Letter which was read, rejected the Term of *Consubstantial* (*ὁμοούσιον*), it was thought, that the Orthodox Doctrine could not be better express'd, and all Equivocation excluded, than in making use of it; and so much the rather, in that the *Arians* seem'd to be afraid of it. This Circumstance is owing

* *Lib. 3. de*
Fid. ad
Grac. cap.
ult.

to * *St. Ambrose*, whose words are these; *Auctor ipsorum Eusebius Nicomediæ Episcopus, Epistola sua prodidit, dicens; si verum inquit, Dei Filium increatum dicimus, homoousion, Consubstantialem cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Hæc cum lecta esset Epistola in Concilio Nicæno, hoc verbum in tractatu fidei posuerunt Patres quod viderunt Adversarius esse formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsum nefandæ caput Hæreseos amputarent.*

† *Socr.*
l. 1. c. 8.

The Orthodox conceiv'd then their Sentiment, touching the Divinity of the Son, in these terms; † *We believe in one only Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, only Son of the Father; that is to say, of the Substance of the Father, God, born of God, Light of Light,*

Light, True God, born of the True God, begotten, not made, Consubstantial with the Father.

The *Arians* in vain complain'd, that these words were not to be found in Scripture : They were told, That those they were wont to use, were not there neither, being wholly new ; whereas it was near six-score Years since, that several Bishops had used the word *Consubstantial*.

The Fathers of the Council, during this Time, were not so busied in vanquishing the *Arians*, and in making several Regulations, which I shall here omit, but that they remembred their private Grudges.

Several Church-men (says * *Sozomen*) as if * *L.I.C. 17.*

they had been assembled to prosecute their particular Affairs, as it commonly happens, thought this a fit time to get those punish'd who had offended them. Each of 'em presented Requests to the Emperor, wherein they accused one or other, and signified the Wrong they had done them. This happening every Day, the Emperor set one a-part, in which they were every one of 'em to bring his Grievance. The Day being come, the Emperor took all their Requests, and caused them to be thrown into the Fire, and exhorted them to a mutual Forgiveness, according to the Precepts of the Gospel. He afterwards

' enjoy'd them to labour in clearing up
' the Points of Faith, of which they were
' to be Judges; and a fix'd Day, wherein
' the Question of the Constubstantiality
' should be decided.

* Euseb.
Vit. Const.
l. 3. c. 10.

The Day appointed * being come, *Constantine* convocated all the Bishops into an Hall of the Palace, where he had caus'd Chairs to be set on both sides. The Bishops entred first, and the Emperor came in afterwards, and did not sit down at the Head of the Assembly on a Gilded Seat which he caused to be there placed, till the Bishops, by Signs had given him leave. Being set down, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, who was at his Right-hand, harrangu'd him, and thank'd him for the care he had taken to preserve the Purity of the Catholick Faith. *Constantine* afterwards began to speak, and made a Discourse in Latin, wherein he represented, That he had no greater Affliction, than the Divisions he observ'd among Christians; exhorting the Bishops very earnestly to Peace. An Interpreter afterwards turn'd the Speech into Greek, for the Eastern Bishops understood not Latin.

Although it seems that Business was prepared in particular Assemblies before-hand, yet there arose at first a great Controversie; And *Constantine* had the patience to hear long
Contests,

Contests, wherein he exercised the Office of Moderator, in endeavouring to accord those whose Sentiments or Expressions appear'd remote, in upholding the Arguments which seem'd to him weak, and in giving Praises to such who seem'd to speak well.

Eusebius of Cæsarea long held out against the Use which they * would make of the word *Consubstantial*. He offer'd another Confession of Faith, wherein it was omitted, and wherein he call'd the Son barely, *God born of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, Only Son, First-born of all Creatures, Begotten of his Father before all Worlds.* The Emperor approv'd this Confession of Faith, and exhorted the Fathers of the Synod to follow it, in adding thereto only the word *Consubstantial*.

* *Socrat.*
l. i. c. 8.
by *Theod.*
l. i. c. 12.

Afterwards the *Confession* was read, which had been drawn up with this Word, the Terms of which have been already recited. *Anathema's* were join'd thereto, against those who should use, on this Occasion, other Terms than those of the Holy Scripture; which must be understood, with an Exception of those which the Council thought fit to Consecrate.

This Proposition was particularly condemn'd, *That the Son existed not before he was begotten.* *Eusebius* and others requested, *That the Terms* of the Symbol, and

and Anathema's might be explained. 1. It was said, That the word *Begotten*, and not *Made*, was used; because this last word expresses the Production of Creatures, to which the Son has no likeness, being of a Substance far more excellent than they, begotten by the Father in an incomprehensible manner. 2. As for the word *Consubstantial*, it is proper to the Son, not in the sense wherein it is taken, when we speak of Bodies, or Mortal Animals, the Son being Consubstantial with the Father, neither by a Division of the Divine Substance, of which he possesses a part, nor by any change of this same Substance. The meaning of which is only this, That the Son has no Resemblance with the Creatures which he has made; but, that he is in all things like to his Father, by whom he has been begotten; or, That he is not of another Hypostasis, or Substance, but of that of the Father. 3. Those were condemn'd, who said, That the Son was not before he was born, seeing that he existed before his Corporal Birth, and even before his Divine Generation, according to *Constantine's* Argument: ' * For before (*said he*) that he was actually Begotten, he was in Power in his Father, in a manner Unbegotten, the Father having been always Father, as he is always King and Saviour, and all things in

* These words of *Eusebius's* Letter are not to be found but in *Theodoret*, *Socrates* having retrenched them.

' in Power, being eternally in the same Condition.

It will perhaps seem, that this is pure *Arianism*, and that this is to deny the Eternity of the Son. But we must observe, that in the style of that time, to Exist before the World, and to be Eternal, is the same thing; seeing, that to prove his Eternity, this Passage is cited, * *In the Beginning was the Word*: And it sufficed to shew, that he was Begotten before there was any Time. So that we must not reject these words as Supposititious, meerly for this reason: And it is so ordinary to find hard Expressions, in those who attempt to explain, in any sort, this incomprehensible Mystery, that if one might hence judge of them, one would be apt to declare them all Hereticks; which is to say, to anathematize the greatest part of the Ancients.

* Vid. Ep. Alexandri Ep. Al. supra laudatam.

Besides this, † St. *Athanasius*, who openly treats *Eusebius* as an *Arian*, makes allusion to one part of this Passage, and draws thence a Consequence which *Eusebius*, without doubt, would not have owned, which is, That the *Arians* believed that the Divinity of Jesus Christ did not exist before his Corporal Birth.

* De. De. ret. Nican. Tom. 1. pag. 251.

After these Explications *Eusebius* subscribed, as he himself testifies in the Letter above recited, || although he had refused it the

|| *Athanas.* ibid.

the day before. The long and formal Opposition which he had made against the word *Consubstantial*, caused it to be suspected that there was want of Sincerity in this Subscription. In fine, *Arius* and his Party were anathematized, and all their Books condemned, and particularly a Poem which *Arius* had entituled *Thalia*.

Most of the *Arian* Bishops subscribed, after *Eusebius* his Example, to this *Confession of Faith*, and the *Anathema's*, after the Explication above-mentioned. Yet there were some of 'em who refused at first to sign, * the principal of which were *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Calcedon*, *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*. They were immediately Excommunicated by the Council, and were to be sent afterwards, as well as *Arius*, into Exile, by *Constantine*. The Council wrote a Circular Letter † to the Churches of *Egypt*, denoting to 'em in what sort they had carried themselves in the business of *Arius*, and what had been ordered touching *Melece* the Schismatical Bishop, and the Observation of *Easter*.

* *Socr. l. 1. c. 1.*

† *Ib. Socr. l. 1. c. 9.*

Constantine wrote also to the Church of *Alexandria*, to assure it, that after a full and mature Examination, *Arius* had been condemned by the common Consent. He greatly vaunted of the Moderation and Learning of the Bishops,

shops, making no mention of their Quarrels, according to the Custom observed in Publick Acts, and such like Occasions, where every thing is suppress'd which may give an ill Opinion of the Decrees of these kinds of Assemblies.

In another Letter directed to the Bishops and Churches, he enjoins the Name of *Porphyry* to be given to *Arius*, and his Followers to be called *Porphyrians*. This *Porphyry* was a famous *Platonist*, who had written against the Christian Religion, and whose Books *Constantine* had caus'd to be burnt. *Lucas Holstenius* has written his Life, which is to be found at the end of the Book *Of the Abstinence of Animals*.

Constantine design'd to declare hereby *Arius* an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and not in any manner reproach him with being a *Platonist*, touching the Trinity; seeing *Constantine* did not disapprove, as we have seen, the Sentiments of *Plato*.

It's true, the *Arians* have been upbraided with their too great application to the reading of this Philosopher, and other Heathen Authors: *Revera de Platonis & Aristophanis* (says * *St. Jerom*) *in episcopatum alle-*
guntur: Quotus enim quisque est qui non
apprime in his eruditus sit? Accedit ad hoc
quod Ariana hæresis magis cum sapientia seculi
facit, & argumentationum rivos de Aristoteli

* *Advers. Lucif. T.2. p.142. Ed. Gryph.*

relis fontibus manatur. Thus the Orthodox and Hereticks equally approved the Sentiments of Plato, each of them apparently explaining them according to his Hypothesis.

Constantine further ordered, in the same Letter, to burn all *Arius's* Books; 'to the end, that not only his pernicious Doctrine be destroyed, but that there remain no monument of it to Posterity. — He likewise declared, 'That if any one concealed any of his Books, and did not bring them to be burnt, he should be put to death after it had been proved upon him. — There is moreover another Letter of this Emperor, wherein he enjoins all Churches to celebrate *Easter*, according to the Canons of the Council.

Eusebius and *Theognis* either actually believing that the Creed of the Council might admit an *Arian* sense, * or affrighted by the Emperor's Severity, offer'd to sign the Creed, but refused to anathematize *Arius*, affirming that Opinions were attributed to him which he had not. *Eusebius* so ordered, by the means of his Friends, about the Emperor, † that what he desired was granted him, which is to say, that they were contented with his subscription to the Creed. *Theognis* and *Maris* did as much; and the Letter of the Council to the Churches

* *Socrat.*
l. i. c. 14.

* *Ex. Epist.*
Const. ad
Nicomed.
ap. Theod.
l. i. c. 20.

Churches of *Egypt* mentions only *Theonas* and *Secondus* who had absolutely stood out. *Philastorgus* likewise acknowledges * that ^{L.I. c. 8;} all the *Arian* Bishops subscribed except two, ⁶⁹ and reproaches the rest with their insincerity, in that they had explain'd after the *Arian* fashion the Terms of the Council, by the Advice of *Constantia* the Emperor's Sister. He adds, That *Secondus* setting out to go into Exile, said to *Eusebius*; *You have subscribed Eusebius, that you might not be banisht; but for my part, I believe what God has revealed to me, which is, that you shall be carried into Exile, before the year comes about.*

Arius, if we believe the Orthodox, had not the Courage to resolve on Banishment with *Secondus* and *Theonas*: He pretended a desire to be better instructed, and sought an occasion of conferring with *Athanasius* Deacon of *Alexandria*, † whose Acts are still ^{† Athanas. T.I. p. III.} extant. If this Relation be true, one may conjecture, that *Arius* designedly defended himself but ill, the better to yield to his Adversaries Reasons, as he did, to obtain his Grace. He acknowledges, at the end of this Conference, the Equality and Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father; after which, he shews himself entirely reclaim'd from his Error. The Fathers of the Council receiv'd him, as a Penitent, without settling him in his Employ; and the Emperor only
forbad

forbad him to go to *Alexandria*. *Euzoius* and *Achillas*, Colleagues of *Arius*, were also
 * *In Lucif.* pardoned; and * *St. Jerom* adds to them
 p. 145. T. 2. eight Bishops, of which he names but three,
 and one Priest, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theog-
 nis* of *Nice*, *Sarus* Priest of *Lybia*, and *Euse-
 bius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*. It appears from
 the sequel of the Dialogue, that the *Arians*
 denied that the Bishops of their Party were
 reconciled at *Nice*; but *St. Jerom* grounds
 himself on the Acts and Subscriptions of this
 Council, which yet he had not then at
 hand, excusing himself from naming the
 four other reconciled Bishops by a Rhetor-
 ical Figure, *Et reliqui, quos enumerare lon-
 gum est*. There needed not so much time
 for to set down four Names, but without
 doubt he did not remember them.

The first who sign'd the Council among
 the Orthodox, was *Hosius* Bishop of *Cor-
 dova*; afterwards, *Vitonius* and *Vincent*,
 Roman Priests, sent by *Sylvester*; after them,
 the Bishops of *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Je-
 rusalem*; and, in fine, the other Bishops.
 Those who favour the Pretensions of the
 Church of *Rome*, say that *Hosius* sign'd in
 Quality of Legate from the Bishop of that
 City, but the most ancient Historians have
 not a word of it.

The Council ending the 25th. of *August*,
Constantine took his farewell of them, in a
 very

Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea.

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very fine Harangue, * wherein he exhorted the Fathers to thoughts of Peace, and to a mutual Forbearance; but which was of little effect, as will appear by the sequel.

* Euseb. in
Vit. ejus,
c. 21.

Thus ended this famous Council, the Circumstances of which would be better known to us, if the fear of offending great Persons, the Zeal of some, the Passion of others, and the Respect which Posterity has had for the Decisions of so famous an Assembly, had not hinder'd contemporary Authors from writing the History with the Exactness and Impartiality remarkable in good Historians; and retain'd those who have liv'd since, from saying what they knew (perhaps) that was disadvantageous. St. Athanasius, in a little Treatise already cited, and where he seems at first to be willing to enter on this History, transported by the Zeal of which he was full, falls on Controversie and Invectives, when one might expect him ready to relate Circumstances. Sozomen says, *That he did not dare to relate the Creed of Nice, † because some of his pious and learned Friends in this Matter, advised him to suppress the things which the Initiates and the Priests alone should understand, and that according to their Council, he had conceald what was to be kept silent.*

† L. i. c. 29.

K

A while

* *Sozom.*
l. i. c. 25.

A while after, the * Emperor being to celebrate the Feast of his *Nicennates*, which is to say, of the Twentieth Year of his Empire, invited the Bishops to *Byzantia*, which he thought of re-establishing, in giving it the new Name of *Constantinople*, where he magnificently treated them, and made each of 'em a-part a Present; after which, they return'd to their Bishopricks. It seems, that it was about this time, that he wrote very obliging Letters to † *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, in giving him order to procure him fifty Copies, fairly written, of the Holy Scripture.

† *Socrat.*
l. i. c. 9.

As to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theogenus* his Friend, they were no sooner return'd into their Bishopricks, but they began again to preach *Arianism* publicly, * and receiv'd into their Communion some Persons of *Alexandria*, who had been thence expelled for this Opinion.

* *Ex. Epi.*
Const. ad
Nicom. l.

Constantine advertis'd of this, sent them into Exile, three Months after the Council, and establish'd at *Nicomedia* one *Amphion* for Bishop, and *Cyrestus* at *Nice*. Thus was *Secundus's* Prediction accomplish'd, and Insincerity punish'd.

Two Months after, *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* died, which occasioned great Disturbances in that City. The † *Orthodox* say, that *Athanasius* Deacon of this Church,

† *Sozom. II.*
17. Philost.
III. 11.

Church, whom *Alexander* had brought along with him to *Nice*, by reason of his Knowledge, had been denoted several times by this Bishop for his Successor, but that he had hid himself a little before his death, for fear of being Elected, and that having been found, he was chosen by a Plurality of Voices.

The Heterodox affirm, on the contrary, that the *Meletians* being re-united to the Catholics, after the death of *Alexander*, fifty four Bishops of *Egypt* took an Oath to elect by common Consent his Successor, but that seven among them broke their Oaths, and chose *Atbanasius*, without the Participation of the rest. Some even assure, that the Voices were divided, and the Election not being made quick enough, *Atbanasius* shut himself up with two Bishops into *St. Denys's Church*, and caused himself to be Consecrated, maugre the other Bishops, who made the Church-doors be broken open, but too late, the Ceremony being over. Hereupon they Excommunicated him; but having strengthened his Party, he wrote in the Name of the City to the Emperor, to give him Notice of his Election; which was approv'd by this Prince, who believ'd these Letters came effectually from the Magistracy of *Alexandria*. There may have been Passion on the side of the Hetero-

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dox;

dox: but heating our selves as we do, for the Truth, as well as for Error, and upholding sometimes the right side by indirect ways, it would not be safe to reject whatever the Heterodox say, or blindly receive whatever the Orthodox relate.

* Euseb. in
ejus Vit.
l.3. c.64.

It seems, about this time, *Constantine* made his Constitution * against the Meeting of all Hereticks, wherein he forbids them to assemble either in publick or private, gives their Chappels to Catholicks, and confiscates the Houses wherein they are found to meet, performing their Devotions. *Eusebius* adds, That the Emperor's Edict moreover contain'd, that all Heretical Books should be seiz'd on; and that *Constantine's* Threatnings oblig'd a great number of Hereticks and Schismatics to range themselves on the side of the Orthodox Church. But some doing it sincerely, and others by force, the Bishops applied themselves carefully to distinguish them, and receiv'd only into the Church those who were real Converts. The *Arians* had been ruin'd by particular Edicts, so that all Heresies seem'd to be abolish'd in the *Roman Empire*.

But *Constantine*, who had at first slighted the Subject of the Dispute between *Arius* and *Alexander*, as consisting only of different Expressions, and who afterwards had considered it as a Point of the greatest importance,

portance, return'd again to a good Opinion of *Arius*; whether he acted according to his present Interests, or that he suffer'd himself to be led by those who were most about him; or that, in fine, he really changed his Opinion. * *Constantia*, Sister of *Constantine*, and Widow of *Lucius*, had among her Domesticks, a Priest, a Friend to *Arius*, who held the same Opinions as he did, and who persuaded this Princess that *Arius* held not those Opinions he was charged with, in the manner as they were usually express'd; that *Alexander* had accused him through Envy, because he was esteem'd by the People; and that the Council had done him wrong. *Constantia*, who much confided in this Priest, easily believed him, but dared not speak her Mind to the Emperor; and being falln dangerously sick, all that she could do before she died, was to recommend this Priest to her Brother, as a Man highly Vertuous, and much devoted to the Service of her Family. A while after she died, and this Priest having gotten the Favour of *Constantine*, held to him the same Discourse, telling him, That if he pleas'd to admit *Arius* to come before him, and to explain his Opinion, he would find, that at bottom, his Doctrine was the same as that of the Council which condemn'd him.

* Socrat.
l. i. c. 25.
ex Ruffin.

Constantine, surpriz'd at the oddness of this Discourse, answered, That if *Arius* would sign the *Nicene Creed*, he would let him come into his Presence, and would send him honourably to *Alexandria*.

This Priest having assured him of it, *Constantine* sent Word to *Arius* to come to Court ; and *Arius* not daring at first to do it, the Emperor wrote a Note to him, in which he ordered him to come immediately at his Charge. *Arius* obeyed this reiterated Order ; and being come to *Constantinople* with *Euzoius*, they presented to the Emperor a Confession of their Faith, wherein they barely said, *They belev'd that the Son was begotten of the Father before all Ages ; and that the Reason, who is God, had made all things, as well in Heaven as in Earth.*

If *Constantine* was fully satisfied with this Declaration, either he had chang'd his Mind, or given small Attention to it, or little comprehended the Sence of the *Nicene Creed*. However it was, it appears by the sequel, that the *Arian* Bishops came by degrees into Favour, and that the Emperor treated *Arius* with great Kindness, and permitted him to return to *Alexandria*.

It's not punctually known when *Arius* was recall'd ; but it's certain he had been already, when *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were, which

which happen'd three years after the Council of Nice, in the Year 328, according to the Relation of * *Philastorgus*; these two * *L. 3. c. 18.* Bishops wrote from the Place of their Banishment a Letter, wherein they complain, † That they had been condemn'd without † *Socrat. l. 1. c. 14.* being heard, although their Conduct had been approved of in the Council of Nice, where having well examin'd the word *Consubstantial*, they had in fine approved of it. — They added, They had only refused to Anathematize *Arius*, because they knew he was not such a one as he was described; and seeing this was acknowledged by his being recalled, it could not be just, that they who suffer'd only on his account, should remain in Exile after his Revocation. — This Letter was directed to the principal Bishops, whom *Eusebius* and *Theognis* entreated to interceed for them with the Emperor.

In speaking of the Repeal of *Arius*, they directly attribute it to these Bishops; *Your Piety* (say they) *has thought fit treat him gently, and to recall him.*

A learned Man || observes in this place, || *Valesius ad locum.* that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* attribute to the Bishops what the Emperor had done, seeing it was he that had recall'd *Arius*; and that the Ecclesiastical Historians attribute likewise sometimes to the Emperor the Actions

of the Bishops; as when *Socrates* says that the Council of *Nice* forbid *Arius's* return to *Alexander*, whereas it was the Emperor. But in truth, the Emperor did then few things of his own pure motion, being only the Church-mens Tool; which falls out but too often, even among the greatest Princes.

The Letter of *Eusebius* and *Theognis* produced the effect which they hoped from it. They were recall'd, with *Theonas* and *Secundus*, who would sign nothing. The two first being return'd to their Bishopricks, drove out thence those who had gotten into their Sees, when they were sent to their Places of Banishment. They are charg'd with having immediately after sought out ways to make *Athanasius* undergo the same Punishment which they came from suffering, by getting it told the Emperor, that he had been elected in a manner little Canonical, and with endeavouring to induce the same *Athanasius*, both by Prayers and Threatnings, to permit *Arius* to return to *Alexandria*. However, they could not then accomplish their purpose; and we shall see in the sequel, the Bickerings which they had with this Bishop.

Since the Council of *Nice* had been dismiss'd, and that they had been banish'd, this Usage, and the Decisions of *Nice*, had but

but only outwardly allay'd the Disputes, which lasted still when they were recalled. *Eusebius* assures us, that the Bishops of Egypt had been ever since over head and ears in Quarrels. And * *Socrates* says, * *L. I. c. 23* that he found, from the Letters of the Bishops of those times, that some were scandaliz'd at the word *Consubstantial*; 'Examining (says he) this term with too great application; they fell foul on one another, and their Quarrels did not ill resemble a Combat in the dark. It appears, they bespattered one another with Calumnies, without knowing wherefore. Those who rejected the word *Consubstantial*, thought the others hereby introduced the Opinions of *Sabellius* and *Montanus*, and treated them as impious, as denying the Existence (*ὕπαρξιν*) of the Son of God. On the contrary, those who stuck to the word *Consubstantial*, imagining the others would introduce a Plurality of Gods, had as great an aversion for it, as if they would have re-establish'd Paganism. *Eustathius* Bishop of Antioch accused *Eusebius* Bishop of Caesarea of corrupting the *Nicene Faith*. *Eusebius* denied it, and charged, on the other side, *Eustathius* with *Sabellianism*. Thus the Bishops wrote one against another. They all accorded in saying the Son has a particular Existence, and that there is only one

one God in three Hypostases; yet they could not agree, nor remain quiet.

This is the effect of equivocal Terms, which were introduced into Christianity, without well defining them: and the bad custom of most of the Antients, who never speak calmly of these Matters; who have thought of nothing less than the expressing themselves clearly, and who seem to prove they spoke sincerely, when they testified to believe, that the Mystery about which they disputed was Incomprehensible, by expressing themselves thereon in an unintelligible manner.

* Socrat.

L. I. c. 24.

Theod. L. I.

c. 21.

Sozom. L. I.

* 19.

Eustathius Bishop of *Antioch* * accusing of Arianism *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, and *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*; and these Bishops accusing him in their turns of *Sabellianism*; to know who had Reason on their side, a Synod was assembled at *Antioch*, in the Year 329, the Conclusions of which were disadvantageous to *Eustathius*. It consisted of Bishops who had sign'd the *Nicene Creed* only by force, among whom were the two *Eusebius's*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Theodatus* of *Landicea* in *Syria*, *Narcissus* of *Neroniada*, *Actius* of *Lydda*, *Alphons* of *Apamea*, and *Theodorus* of *Sidon*.

As soon as ever they arrived at *Antioch*, a Woman of ill Fame presented her self to

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'em with a little Child, which she said to have had by *Eustathius*, and desired them to do her Right against him, as refusing to receive his Child. *Eustathius* made great Protestations of his Innocency; but this Woman having been believed upon her Oath, he was Deposed. * Some Authors * *Theod. & Sozom.* affirmed, that the *Arian* Bishops had suborn'd her, to have an occasion for the Deposing of *Eustathius*; and that the true cause of his Deposal, was his adherence to the *Nicene Creed*. Others say, it was the pretended *Sabellianism* of which he was accused; and some have contented themselves with saying, there were other Accusations for which he had been deposed. Whereupon † *Socrates* makes this remarkable Reflexion; *The Bishops are wont to deal thus with all those whom they Depose; accusing and declaring them Impious, without shewing wherein.*

A Bishop was afterwards to be substituted in *Eustathius's* Place, and the *Arian* Bishops cast their eyes on *Eusebius* of *Caesarea*. But there arose a violent Sedition hereupon; some willing to retain *Eustathius*, and others accepting *Eusebius*. They had come to Fisticuffs, had not the Emperor taken care, by sending one of his Officers, who appeased the People, and made them understand how *Eustathius* deserv'd to be sent into

into Exile, and in effect he was sent into Thrace.

However, *Eusebius* did a thing which made him receive very honourable Letters from the Emperor, which he has inserted in the Life of this Prince, which is, that according to the Canons, he refused to pass from one Church to another. *Constantine* heap'd up Praises on him, by reason of this refusal, and wrote to the Council, and the Church of *Antioch*, to let him remain where he was. So that instead of *Eusebius*, there was elected *Euphronius* Priest of *Capadocia*, whom the Emperor had named with *George of Arethusa*, to the end the Council might chuse which they pleased.

* Soc. 1. 27,
 & seq. Soz.
 2. 27, & seq.
 Theod. 1.
 26, & seq.

* Having deposed *Eustathius*, the *Arian* Bishops laboured to procure the return of *Arius* to *Alexandria*; where *Athanasius* would not permit him to enter, as has been already said. They engaged the Emperor to write to this Bishop; but *Athanasius* still defended himself, in that he could not receive into the Church those who had forsok the Faith, and been excommunicated; so that *Constantine* wrote to him an angry Letter, that he should receive into the Church those he ordered him, under pain of Banishment.

The Obstinacy of this Bishop, who would part with none of the Advantages which

which the Council of *Nice* had granted to his Predecessor against the *Meletians*, had also drawn on him the Enmity of these Schismatics. The Council had ordained that *Melece* should only retain the Name of Bishop, without Exercising the Function of his Office, and without ordaining any Successor; and that those whom he had Ordained, should have no part in Elections. However, *Melece*, at his death, had ordained one *John* for his Successor, and the *Meletian* Priests would have the same Privileges as others. *Athanasius* could not consent to any thing of this, and equally ill treated the *Meletians* and *Arians*.

This Conduct re-united the two Parties, who had been till that time opposite. The *Meletians* were of the *Nicene* Opinion; but by conversing with the *Arians*, they soon entred into their Sentiments, and join'd together, to induce *Constantine* to accept of several Accusations against *Athanasius*; as having imposed a kind of Tribute on *Egypt*, in ordering it to furnish the Church of *Alexandria* with a certain number of Linnen Garments; in having supplied a certain seditious Person with Money, named *Philumenus*; in having caused a Chalice to be broken, overthrown the Table of a Church, and burnt the Holy Books; for having misused several Priests, and committed divers

Violences;

Violences; in having cut off the Arm of a *Meletian* Bishop, named *Arsenius*, and keeping it to use in Magical Operations.

Constantine acknowledged the Innocency of *Athanasius*, in regard of the two first Accusations; and for the rest, he refer'd it to an Assembly of divers Bishops which was at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*; where *Athanasius* not appearing, he was cited to a Synod at *Tyre*, in the Year 334, and which consisted of Bishops of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Asia*, and *Europe*.

Athanasius was in suspense, whether he should present himself to this Synod, which consisted of his principal Enemies: Yet *Constantine* having threatned him with Banishment if he refused, he therefore appeared, and justified himself of the Accusation touching the Arm of *Arsenius*, by bringing in this Person into the midst of them, and deriding his Accusers. It's said moreover, that a Woman being introduced into the Assembly, accused him for having dishonoured her, after she had entertain'd him in her House, although he knew she had made a Vow of Virginity. But it appeared, that she did not so much as know *Athanasius*, seeing she took one *Timotheus* a Priest for him, who pretended to be the Bishop of *Alexandria*.

The business of the broken Chalice, and the misusing the Priests, was a little more difficult.

difficult. *Artemius* began by an Appeal from *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and the rest of the Bishops of his Party. He afterwards said, That he whose Chalice was pretended to have been broken, and whose Name was *Ischyra*, was not a Priest. However, without any regard to these Reasons, there were sent some *Arian* Bishops, to take Informations against him at *Alexandria*, with *Ischyra* his Accuser ; but he protested highly against this Proceeding, and went to *Jerusalem*, where the Emperor was.

In the mean time, the Informations from *Egypt* were received, and *Athanasius* being loaded with them, he was deposed in his absence, and forbid to go to *Alexandria*. *Artemius* having been admitted into Communion by the Council, and made Bishop of *Hypsyte*, a Town of *Egypt*, subscribed to the Deposition of *Athanasius*, although he had justified him, in reference to one of the Accusations brought against him. The Sentence of the Council bore, That he had slighted the Emperor's Orders, and made the Assembly wait for him in an indecent manner ; That he came to *Tyre* with a great multitude of People, and endeavoured to make a Disturbance there ; That he had for some time refused to purge himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge, and uttered Injuries to divers Bishops ; That he would

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not submit to their Judgment; That he was convicted of breaking a Chalice, by the Informations made against him at *Alexandria*.

Thus was *Athanasius* condemned by his Enemies, who were his Judges, as *Arius* had been anathematiz'd by *Alexander* his Predecessor, and several other Bishops, who had declared themselves against him, before the Convocation of the Council. The same usage has been observed in all the Assemblies of Bishops which have met since; the Clergy having this Advantage above the Laity, that they can be both Judges and Parties.

After the Deposal of *Athanasius*, the Emperor wrote to the Fathers of the Council, to repair as soon as possible to *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the Dedication of the Church of the Apostles, which was now finished. Where being arriv'd, they were magnificently receiv'd, and made several Orations, for the greater Solemnity of the Festival, which happened to be very luckily, in the same Year in which the *Tricennales* of the Emperor * were to be celebrated, which is to say, the 30th. Year of his Reign. † *Eusebius* particularly made several Harrangues before the Emperor, who took a great deal of pleasure in hearing them, insomuch that he would hear standing a long Oration which
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* In the
Year 335.

† In *Vit.*
Const. l. 4.
46, & 33.

this Bishop made on the holy Sepulchre, *Eusebius* well remembers this Honour the Emperor did him, and the Praises he gave to his Oration touching *Easter*, and carefully inserts, in the Life of *Constantine*, all the Letters he had received from the Emperor; perhaps, not out of Acknowledgment, but rather to do himself Honour, * as he has been reproach'd with it, * *Baronius ad hæc Tempora.*

The Bishops assembled at *Jerusalem*, † having ended the Dedication of the Church which *Constantine* had newly built, and there received into Communion *Arius* and *Euzoius*, on the Emperor's Recommendation. *Eusebius* and *Theognis* say, that *Arius* had been kindly received by the Bishops; but in no sort, that he was received into Communion: Which was, perhaps, for some years refused him, to try his Sincerity. Afterwards they wrote to the Church of *Alexandria*, that she might receive them; and be assured, she would enjoy henceforward a full Tranquility, Envy having been driven out thence, by the depolal of *Athanasius*. || In the mean time, || *Sozom.* l. II. 28. this Bishop had gotten to *Constantinople*, to complain to the Emperor of what he had suffered; but he could obtain no Audience from him; all that he could be heard to say, was, That he entreated the Emperor to cite to *Constantinople* the Bishops which

which were at *Jerusalem*, to have another Examination of his Affair.

Constantine wrote to *Jerusalem*, and complains in his Letter, that in a time wherein the *Barbarians* began to acknowledge the True God; 'The Christians, who would be thought to have the Mysteries of God in their keeping, (for he durst not say that that they kept them,) laboured only to entertain Divisions and Hatred among them, not to say, for the Destruction of Mankind. — And therefore he desired that the Bishops assembled at *Jerusalem*, would meet at *Constantinople*, to examine once for all, the Affair of *Athanasius*, and put some end to it. This Letter being to *Jerusalem*, some of the Bishops return'd to their Diocesses, and others to *Constantinople*. These last persuaded (according to **Sozom.* id. some * Authors) the Emperor, that *Athanasius* had effectually broken a Chalice; or (according to † others) that he had threatened to stop the Convoy of Provisions which went every year from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, of which three Bishops were Witnesses. The Emperor, provoked by these Accusations, order'd him to retire to *Triers*, a Town of the *Belgick Gaul*, where he remain'd about two years.

The Bishops who were met at *Constantinople*, || deposed, after this, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*,

**Sozom.* id.

† *Socrat.*

l. i. c. 35.

|| *Id. c. 36.*

Ancyra, as being fallen into the Opinion of *Paul of Samosatia*. One *Asterius*, who had taught Rhetorick in *Cappadocia*, having embraced the Christian Religion, had wrote some Books, wherein he spake of the Divinity of the Son, in the same terms as *Arius*. *Marcellus* undertook to refute them; but far from establishing the Pre-existence of the Son, he denied the Divinity of Jesus Christ existed before his Birth; or at least express himself in such a manner, that one might believe he regarded the Reason or the Word, not as a Being that has his particular Existence, but as I know not what kind of Accident, such as is the Word, or the Sound which is made in speaking. He also very ill treated, * in the same Book, several *Arian* Bishops, as the two *Eusebius's*, *Paulinus* and *Narcissus*. He charged likewise *Origen*, for expounding the Holy Scripture according to the Notions of Heathen Philosophers, and especially according to those of *Plato*; from whom *Marcellus* affirmed, he had taken his Doctrine of Principles, which is to say, of the Holy Trinity, of which he had treated after the Platonick fashion.

* *Euseb.*
cont. *Mar-*
cel. l. i. c. 4.

The *Arian* Bishops, offended with this Book, had begun to examine it, when they were as yet at *Jerusalem*; but having been obliged to pass over to *Constantinople*, they

had only enjoined *Marcellus* to alter his Opinion, according to the Style of that time. He promis'd to burn his Book; but having not done it, and even refusing to do it, his Affair was re-assumed at *Constantinople*, and he was deposed.

Eusebius of *Cæsarea* wrote two Books expressly against him, wherein he criticizes his Work; and three others, which he entitled, *Of Ecclesiastick Theology*, wherein he establish'd the Opinions which he thought Orthodox touching the Divinity, and refuted those of *Marcellus*, and divers other Hereticks.

* *Socrat.*

l. 2. 20. &

Sozom.

l. 2. c. 29.

Marcellus was afterwards * re-establish'd in the Synod of *Sardica*, because he affirmed his Expressions had been mis-understood; and being an Enemy to the *Arians*, he insinuated himself into the Friendship of *Athanasius*, who perhaps was surpriz'd by the equivocal Expressions used by *Marcellus*. It's certain, that if we may judge of him by the Fragments which *Eusebius* cites, he scarcely knew what he would say himself; or else he conceal'd his Opinions under obscure terms, lest he should fall into trouble.

After that *Athanasius* had been sent into Exile, † *Arius* had returned to *Alexandria*; but his Presence being likely to cause a Disorder, by reason of the great number of those who followed the Sentiments of *Athanasius*,

† *Id. l. 1.*

c. 27. & seq.

nafius, the Emperor recalled this Priest to *Constantinople*; and to assure himself entirely of his Belief, of which the Orthodox still doubted, he offered him the *Nicene Creed* to sign; which he did without balancing, and moreover swore he was of that Opinion. A report ran, that he had hid under his Arm a Writing which contain'd his Opinion, and that he barely swore he believed what he had wrote; but there is no great certainty to be expected in what his Enemies say of him. Perhaps he thought, like *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, that one might give to the words of the Creed, a sense which amounted to his Sentiment, although he wisht they had made use of other terms. What the Fathers of *Nice* said more than he, consisting in something absolutely incomprehensible; perhaps moreover he counted that for nothing. However, *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* refused to receive him into Communion, although the Emperor had ordered him to do it, and a great number of Bishops and of the People urged him to it.

Besides this, the *Arian* Bishops were preparing to hold a Council, to examine afresh the Question agitated at *Nice*, and had mark't a day in which they were to meet to discourse about it, and to conduct *Arius* into the Church, maugre *Alexander*.

In this Extremity knowing not how to maintain his Refusal, History tells us, that he shut himself up in a Church called *Peace*, and set himself very devoutfully to pray to God, not that he would convert *Arius*, or that he would discover to himself the Truth; but, ' That if the Opinion of *Arius* was true, he himself might not see ' the day set apart to discourse of it: — Or, ' That if his own Belief were true, *Arius*, ' who was the cause of so great Mischiefs, ' might be punished for his Infidelity. — A Prayer so little charitable, and whence might be seen that this Bishop was more concerned for his Reputation than the Truth, fail'd not of being heard, seeing that the next Morning, which was *Sunday*, or the same Day at Night, as *Arius* went to the Church, accompanied by those of his Party, or in some other Place, (for the Historians vary,) in passing by the Market of *Constantine*, he had so great occasion to go and ease himself, that he was forced to betake himself to the common Privies, where, instead of finding ease, he evacuated his Bowels, and thus died suddenly. Since that time, Passengers were commonly shewed these Places of Ease, and no body dared sit down on the same place where *Arius* sat. 'Tis said, that a rich *Arian*, to abolish the memory of it, bought after-

afterwards this Place of the Publick, and there built an House.

It's thus that *Rufinus*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* relate the last Events of the Life of *Arius*. But *St. Athanasius* says, that having * having been recalled by the Sollicitations * *In Epist. ad Serapionem.* of those of his Party, he offered his Confession of Faith to the Emperor, and swore that he did not believe any thing. After which, those that protected him, would introduce him into the Church, at his going out of the Emperor's Palace, but that he died (as hath been said) without having been received into Communion. A † learned † *Valesius.* Man is of Opinion in this matter, ' That ' the *Arius* who was received into Communion at *Jerusalem*, was a Priest of the Party ' of the famous *Arius* ; and not he himself, ' who had already died out of the Communion of the Church : — Because without this, it must be said that *Athanasius* has been mistaken. But were it granted him that this Bishop was mistaken, in speaking of a Man whom he every moment o'erwhelm'd with Injuries, it cannot be found strange, especially not having been at *Constantinople* then, when what he relates must have happened.

One may further say, that *Athanasius* has related, by way of abridgment, and little exactly, what he had heard say of *Arius* ;

and that he regarded him as an excommunicated Person, having been only received by a Council whose Authority *Athanasius* would not acknowledge, it consisting principally of Persons whose Opinions had been anathematized at *Nice*. It is far more natural thus to interpret this Passage of *Athanasius*, than to reject wholly, as false, an History so circumstanc'd as that of the later years of the Life of *Arius*, in respect of certain Facts which the Historians we have already cited had no interest to alter.

* *Sozom.*
l. 2. c. 31.
1. 311.

Arius being dead, apparently of a sudden Death, which may have given occasion to the tragical manner in which the Historians mention it, the Disputes started on his occasion died not with him : * Those who were of *Athanasius*'s Party at *Alexandria*, besought of God his return, in the Publick Prayers, and ceased not to importune the Emperor to make him be recalled. *Constantine* was obliged to write to the People of that Town a Letter, wherein he upbraided them for their Lightness and Folly, and enjoyns the Ecclesiasticks to remain quiet ; and wherein he declares he would not recall *Athanasius*, whom he treats as a Seditious Person, and one who had been condemned by a Council. He answers likewise to *Anthony* the Hermit ; That he could not flight the Judgment of
the

the Council of Tyre ; because that sup-
 posing some among the Bishops were Pas-
 sionate, yet it is not probable that so
 great a number of Wise and Learned Bi-
 shops should all of them act by Passion ;
 and that *Athanasius* was an Insolent, Proud
 Troublesom Fellow.

Constantine wrote these Letters but a
 little time before his Death, which happen'd
 in the Year 337, the Circumstances of
 which may be seen in his Life, writ by *Eusebius*. Yet we must remember, that this
 is rather a Panegyrick, than an uninterest
 History ; whence it is that he says nothing
 of the Death of his two Wives, and the
 Eldest Son of this Emperor, whom he had
 put to Death, through Jealousie or Re-
 venge.

Eusebius lived not long after him ; he
 died towards the Year 340, and left in his
 Place *Acacius* his Disciple, * who wrote his
 Master's Life, which we have not.

* *Socrat.*
 l. 2. c. 4.

I shall not relate what happened after-
 wards with respect to the *Arian* Disputes ;
 because I only design'd to mention the
 Events which happened during the Life of
Eusebius, or in which he was somewhat
 concerned. He was always of the *Arians*
 side, and St. *Athanasius* and St. *Jerom* have
 accused him of being of their Opinion. In
 effect, 'tis scarce credible, that if he had
 been

been Orthodox, he would have so much favoured *Arianism*, and given his Consent to the Deposal of St. *Athanasius*. Yet

* Ib. c. 21.

* *Secrates* hath undertaken to justify him, by citing some Passages wherein he speaks as the Orthodox did; and several modern Authors have done the same, as Dr. *Cave* in the Life of *Eusebius*, which he hath writ in Latin and English. This latter seems to have thought himself obliged to it through Christian Charity; but others are of opinion, that Christian Charity, that is, the Love we ought to have for all Christians, should oblige all Historians to mention such Truths, as make no Alteration in the State of those that are Dead; and are very useful to the Living, who learn thereby to judge soundly of things. That pretended Charity, which extends it self only to the Fathers who are look'd upon as Orthodox, hath been the cause why we have in a manner only *Panegyrics* of the Antients, wherein their Defects are always suppress'd, when they cannot be covered with the Mask of some Vertues.

Eusebius, as it appears by his Conduct at the Council of *Nice*, was a dextrous Person, which made no scruple to subscribe to Terms which he did not like, provided he could expound them in a sence agreeable to his mind, though little agreeable to that of those

those who set them up. Indeed, a Man must shut his Eyes, who doth not see, by what he says in his Letter to the Church of *Cæsarea*, that he understood otherwise the Terms of the *Creed*, than *Athanasius* (for example) did. So that we ought not to mind the Terms which he uses to accommodate himself to such ways of speaking as were authorized, and which he look'd upon as equivocal; but only such places wherein he speaks after a manner altogether opposite to the received Opinions. In his Books *De Theologia Ecclesiastica*, he explains himself with so great clearness in several places, that if some equivocal Passages may be opposed to them, there is scarce any Citation but what may be eluded. ' You are afraid (says he to *Marcellus*, Book. 3. chap. 7.) ' lest by owning Two Hypostases, you ' should introduce Two Principles, and destroy the Unity of God. Learn therefore, ' that there being but One God, without ' Generation and Beginning, who begot the ' Son; there is but One Principle, One only ' Monarchy, and One Reign, since the Son ' acknowledges the Reign of his Father. ' For God is the Head of Jesus Christ, as ' the Apostle says. But you very much ' fear (say you) lest those who confess that ' the Father and Son have Two Hypostases, ' are obliged to acknowledge Two Principles.

' ciples. Learn therefore, that those who
 ' maintain that there are Two Hypostases
 ' in God, are not obliged to acknowledge
 ' Two Fathers, nor Two Sons; but they
 ' will only grant, that one of them is Fa-
 ' ther, and the other Son. So those who
 ' admit of Two Hypostases, ought not ne-
 ' cessarily to own that there are Two Gods.
 ' For we do not say that they are *Equal in*
 ' *Honour* (*ἰσοτιμίας*) nor that Both have
 ' no Beginning, or are not Begotten; but
 ' that the one is without Generation and Be-
 ' ginning, and the other is Begotten, and
 ' hath the Father for his Principle. Hence
 ' it is that the Son calls his Father his God,
 ' when he says, *I go to my God, and to your*
 ' *God*, &c. wherefore the Church teaches
 ' only One, who is the God of the Son, &c.
 He goes on in the same strain, and declares,
 that that passage and the like cannot be un-
 derstood of the *Flesh* or Humane Nature of
 Christ. These Principles are very different
 from those of St. *Athanasius*, who says that
 there is but One God, though there is Three
 Persons; * because those Three Persons are
 altogether Equal, and there is but One Deity
 in Kind.

*In 1. Dial.
 de Trin.
 Tom. 2.
 p. 160.
 Vid. &
 Curcellai
 Quaternion.
 Diss. 1.

This is one of the chief things which
 ought to be observed in reading the Wri-
 tings of *Eusebius*: To which must be ad-
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whom one may see several Opinions in the Life of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. It remains only to give a Catalogue of his Works, as I have done in the Life of *Clemens*. I shall make use of Dr. Cave's *Chartophylax*, adding to it what I shall think fit.

1. *A Chronicle*, or an Universal History : The First Part whereof, which is now very imperfect, contains the Antiquities of almost all Nations, of the *Chaldeans*, *Assyrians*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Lydians*, *Hebrews*, *Egyptians*, &c. *Eusebius* took it from *Africanus*. The Second, entitled *A Chronological Canon*, is an Abridgment of the First, and reduces all the Chronology into Decades, from *Abraham*, to the 25th. year of *Constantine* : Which makes one believe that that Work was finished a little before the Council of *Nice*. *St. Jerom* translated it into Latin, adding several things to it, especially with respect to the *Roman History*, in which *Eusebius* was not very well skill'd. The Greek Original is lost ; and *Joseph Scaliger* endeavour'd to recover it as much as he could, by collecting all the Fragments he found in *Syncellus*, *Cedrenus*, and the *Chronicle of Alexandria*. He caused them to be printed at *Leyden*, in 1606, with his Notes ; but they have been re-printed since at *Amsterdam*, in 1658, with more Notes.

2. The

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2. *The Evangelical Preparation*, in Fifteen Books, which he published after the Council of Nice, since he cites his *Chronological Canons* in them. The Design of *Eusebius* in that Work, is, to confute the Religion of the *Pagans*, and to prove some Principles of ours by their Philosophers, to dispose them to embrace it more easily. He shews therefore, 1st. That the Christians had very good Reasons to renounce the Heathenish Religion, and gives some Abridgments of the Theology of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, and of the Opinions of the *Græcians* concerning the Beginning of the World, whereby it appears that all of them acknowledged that the World is not Eternal. 2^{dly}. That the *Græcians* borrowed their Divinity from the Eastern Nations, and that their Gods were only Dead Men, whose Graves were turned into Temples, and whose Fabulous History was so ridiculous, that *Plato* laugh'd at it. 3^{dly}. That to defend their Fables, they have in vain explained them after an Allegorical manner, a Method whereof he shews the Vanity. 4^{thly}. That the Pagan Oracles contain only the Answers and Cheats of Bad *Dæmons*. 5^{thly}. That nothing was so false, as what the *Stoicks* said concerning *Fate*. 6^{thly}. That the Opinions and Customs of the ancient *Hebrews* were very agreeable to the Sentiments

ments of the most rational Pagan Philosophers, especially to those of *Plato*.

7. That the History of the *Hebrews* is confirmed by the Testimony of several Heathen Historians. 8^{thly}. That the *Graecians* took

their Philosophy from the *Barbarians*, especially from the *Jews*, to whom *Plato* and the *Platonicks* owe what they said concerning their Three Principles, and several other Doctrines which the *Greeks* admired.

9^{thly}. That the Philosophers had an infinite number of different Opinions, which may easily be confuted the one by the other, as it appears by *Eusebius* his Essay towards it. One may see by this whole Work, that he was very well vers'd in Heathen Authors, and had taken care, in his Study, to collect whatever might be of use to prove or confirm the Christian Religion by the Testimony of Philosophers. It affords several Fragments of Authors who are lost, as *Sanchoniathon*, and several *Platonicks*, out of whom he cites some long Passages.

3. *The Evangelical Demonstration*, which contain'd Twenty Books, is now reduced to Ten. The Author explains in it the Old Jewish Religion, and undertakes to prove by the Prophets the Truth of the Christian Religion. But he grounds all his Arguments upon some Mystical or Allegorical Explications of some Places of the
Old

Old Testament, without being able to prove against those who would have denied it, that they ought to be understood so. He lends, if I may so say, his Principles to the Prophets, and then fixes to their Terms the Ideas he had of them, by virtue of those Principles. Thus Book 5. chap. 1. where he explains at large the famous Passage of Solomon concerning Wisdom, *God hath begotten me before the Mountains*; he finds in the word to Beget, all the Subtilties which the *Arians* used after the Council of *Nice*, to explain it according to their Mind, without openly shocking the Orthodox.

4. The Ten Books of the *Ecclesiastical History* came out after the preceding, which are cited in them. It begins with Christ, and ends in the Year 324, before the Council of *Nice* met. One may complain of *Eusebius*, because he hath incerted several Fables in it, as that of *Agbarus*, &c. and committed several Faults in Chronology (of which I have already said something.) But one ought to forgive him those Faults, because he is the first who hath composed any Work concerning the Christian History; for he hath preserved a great number of Fragments of ancient Authors whom we have lost, and related their Opinions faithfully enough. Besides, 'tis he chiefly who can give us some light concerning the Canon

of the Books of the New Testament. He dedicated that Book to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, who hath been rank't among the Prelates, who favoured *Arius*. The neatest Greek Edition we have of this Work, is that of *Robert Stephen*, in 1544; and the best Translation is that of *Valesius*, which was printed together with the Greek in Columns, at *Paris* and *Francfort*. Yet the Translation of that learned Man is not without Faults. I am persuaded, that the greatest part of them come from meer Inadvertency; but it cannot be doubted that some arise from his understanding the Terms of the Antients according to the Modern Notions; as when he renders the words of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, which I before mention'd, *Duas Personam Unam esse*, &c. Τῇ ὑποστάσει δύο ὕδασι. One cannot alledge any place wherein the word ὕδασι what we call now-a-days *Persona* in *Divinis*; but by supposing that the Antients ought to think as we do; and δύο ὕδασι ὑποστάσει can signifie only *Two Natures in Existence*; that is, which do not differ in Kind, as a Man and a Horse, but only in *Existence*, or Number, as Two Men. This *Lucas Holstenius* observed in a Discourse which *Valesius* himself caused to be printed at the end of * *Theodoret, Eua-* * Pag. 159] *gius*, &c. wherein he says that this Place

M must

must needs be corrupted either by some Hereticks or Transcribers, because he knew not how to reconcile it with the Orthodox Opinions.

5. Of the *Martyrs of Palestine*. This Book is to be found next to the Eighth of the Ecclesiastical History.

6. The Book against *Hierocles* was writ against a Judge of *Nicomedia*, who, * in the time of *Dioclesian's* Persecution, had composed two Books entitl'd *Philalethes*, wherein he compared Jesus Christ to *Apollonius Thyaneus*. *Eusebius* hath shew'd the absurdity of that Comparison, by a short Critick of the Eight Books of the Life of that Philosopher, written by *Philostratus*. This *Hierocles* must be distinguish'd from a Philosopher of the same Name who lived almost a hundred years after, and wrote a fine Commentary upon the *Golden Verses* of *Pythagoras*.

7. I have already spoken of *Eusebius* his Books against *Marcellus*, and of the *Ecclesiastical Theology*. I shall only add here two things: The first is, that *R. M.* which are seen in the Title, signifie *Richard Montagu* Bishop of *Chichester*, who first publish'd them. The second is of greater moment, viz. that *Eusebius* wrote 'em in anger, and not only gives his Adversary no quarter, but besides Disputes with him about things that

* Vid. *La-
tant. In-
stit.* l. 5.
c. 2, 3, 4.

that are clear, and which himself had proved elsewhere. * *Marcellus* said, ' That if ^{* L.I. c.4.} we ought to tell the truth about *Origen*, it must be acknowledged, that he was but just come from the study of Philosophy, when he applied himself to the reading of the Scripture ; and that before he understood it well, he betook himself to write sooner than he ought to do, because of his great Learning in the Pagan Sciences ; from whence it is that Philosophy made him wander, and that he had writ some things which are not true. For Example (says *Marcellus*) having his mind full of *Plato's* Doctrines, and the Difference he teaches between the Principles, he wrote his Book Of *Principles*, and entitled it so. That Title only was sufficient to make one clearly perceive, that he took from *Plato* the first Words of his Work, as as well as the Title ; for he begins thus, *Those who have believed, and those who have been believed, &c.* words taken out of *Plato's Gorgias*. — There is nothing truer than what *Marcellus* says here ; and all who have read something of *Origen* will grant it. Yet *Eusebius* answers him in these extremely morose terms ; ' Supposing this were true, there was no need of calumniating *Origen* for it ; since he immediately after adds, that *Grace and Truth are by*

‘ *Jesus Christ*, and that *Jesus Christ* is that
 ‘ Truth. What is there in it that’s com-
 ‘ mon to *Plato*? I never heard that *Plato*
 ‘ wrote a Book of *Principles*; and *Origen*
 ‘ hath not taught the same thing as *Plato*,
 ‘ concerning those *Principles*. *Origen* ac-
 ‘ knowledged only One Principle, without
 ‘ Generation and Beginning, and above all
 ‘ things, who is the Father of an Only Son
 ‘ by whom all things were made. —

One may plainly see, that *Eusebius* made
 as if he understood not *Marcellus*, or that
 Anger hinder’d him from understanding
 him. The Bishop of *Ancyra* meant only
 this, viz. that *Origen* had spoken of the
 Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, after
 the same manner as *Plato* spoke of the *Three*
Principles of all things, and that he bor-
 rowed the word *Principle* of him, and the
 first words of his Book wherein he treated
 of them. *Eusebius* might have easily ap-
 prehended his meaning; and he was so far
 from believing that *Plato* was of another
 Opinion in this matter than the Sacred
 Writers and *Origen*, that he he undertakes
 to prove the contrary at large in his *Evan-*
gelical Preparation, lib. II. chap. 13, &c.
 which are worth the reading. In effect,
 what he adds concerning the Father and
 the Son, is equally agreeable to *Origen*’s and
Plato’s Opinion. *Eusebius* seems to have
 fol-

followed at this time St. Jerom's Maxim,
 who ascribes it to him too ; as he himself
 made no scruple to follow it : ' * 'Tis one * *In Apol.*
 ' thing to write in order to Dispute, and *pro lib. cont.*
 ' another to write in order to Teach. In *Jov. p. 106,*
 ' the first Method, the Dispute is very *Græc. Edit.*
 ' much extended, and one minds only to
 ' answer one's Adversary. Sometimes one
 ' thing is proposed, and sometimes ano-
 ' ther : Men argue as they please ; speak
 ' after one manner, and act after ano-
 ' ther, &c. In the second, an open and
 ' ingenuous Face is necessary, &c. Origen,
 ' Methodus, Eusebius, Apollinarius, have
 ' writ a great deal against Celsus and Por-
 ' phyry. Consider what doubtful Arguments
 ' and Problems they use to confute some
 ' Writings composed by the Spirit of the
 ' Devil. And because they are forced to
 ' say, not what they think, but what the
 ' Dispute requires, (*non quod sentiunt, sed*
 ' *quod necesse est,*) they contradict the Hea-
 ' thens. — We may see thereby whe-
 ' ther we ought always to believe what the
 ' Holy Fathers say ; and that Eusebius was
 ' no Arian, only because he denied it, and
 ' used all the terms of the Orthodox. In
 ' the Writers of this kind, a word spoken
 ' against the common Opinion, proves often
 ' more than a hundred places wherein they
 ' speak as the Vulgar.

8. The *Letter to those of Cæsarea* concerning the *Nicene Creed*, which I have already mention'd.

9. *Of the Places named in the Old Testament*, which is a little Geographical Dictionary of the Places mention'd in the Hebrew Books of the Scripture. St. *Jerom* translated it, and added to it what he thought fit. *Jacobus Bonfrerius* printed the Original, with St. *Jerom's* Translation and his own, at *Paris*, Anno 1659, in *Fol.*

10. *The Life of Constantine* is (as hath been said) rather a Panegyrick than a History; and the Style of it also (as *Photius* hath observed) more florid than that of the other Works of *Eusebius*, which is somewhat careless. However, there is afterwards a Panegyrick of that Emperor in due form, which *Eusebius* recited Anno 335, at his *Tricennales*.

11. *An Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, printed at *Leyden* by *Meursius*, in the Year 1617, in *Quarto*, with *Polychronius* and *Psellus*.

12. *The Lives of the Prophets* are ascribed to *Eusebius* in an ancient Manuscript, and are joined with *Procopius* his Commentaries upon *Isaiab*, in Greek and Latin. *John Courtier* publish'd them at *Paris*, in 1580, in *Fol.* Those who have publish'd a new Edition of the *Evangelical Demon-*

Demonstration at Cologne, in 1688, would not have done amiss to join those Pieces with it, or to endeavour to get some of those which are not yet printed.

13. Of that number are Four Books entitled *Eclogæ Propheticae de Christo*, which (as *Lambecius* says) are in the Library of *Vienna*, and in that of the *Escorial*. But 'tis with those two Libraries as with that of *Buda*: The Keepers of them are so faithful and jealous, that they let nothing come out of them. *Labbaeus* says, that besides there is some Libraries some Commentaries of *Eusebius* upon *Isaiah*, a Discourse upon the Three Days that our Lord remained in the Grave; and two more concerning the Women who went to it, and the Angels they found in it.

14. We have lost of *Eusebius*, 1. Some Books concerning the *Ecclesiastical Preparations*. 2. Concerning the *Ecclesiastical Demonstration*. 3. Thirty Books against *Porphyry*, which, in all probability, are the greatest loss we have sustained with respect to the Writings of *Eusebius*; for we might have learn'd by them the Objections of the most learned Philosopher of his time, and the Answers of the most learned Bishop of his Age. 4. Some Varieties of the *Evangelists*. 5. Five Books concerning the *Coming of Jesus Christ*. 6. Some Commen-

aries upon the *Psalms*, of which we have some Fragments in the *Catena* of the Greek Fathers upon that Book. 7. *Of Topical Names*. 8. *An Apology for Origen*, whereof the Sixth Book only (as hath been said) was *Eusebius's*. 9. Three Books of the *Life of Pamphilus*, which he mentions in the 11th. Chap. of the Book of the *Martyrs of Palestine*. 10. *An Apology* for himself, perhaps a *Vindication* of himself against those who accused him of following the Opinions of *Arius*. 11. *A Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*, which is reported to be in the Library of the *Escorial*. 12. *A Description of a Church of Jerusalem*. 13. *Of the Feast of Easter*. 14. Three *Epistles*, the First, to *Constantia*, *Constantine's* Sister; the Second, to *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, for the Re-establishment of *Arius*; the Third, to a Bishop named *Euphratius*. Some Fragments of those Letters may be found in the *Acts* of the Second Council of *Nice*, *Act*. 5. & 6. 15. *An Ancient History*, which perhaps is the same with his *Chronicle*, and is cited by *Anastasiu Sinaita*, as well as a Book dedicated to *Marinus*.

15. Father *Sirmond*, a Jesuite, printed at *Paris*, in 1643, several Latin *Homilies*, which two Manuscripts ascribe to *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, and which *Valesius* thought to be his; but Dr. *Cave* rather believes they were

were written by *Eusebius of Emesus*, a Semi-Arian, who lived towards the middle of the Fourth Century.

After all, the same may be said of the Cologne Edition (1688) of *Eusebius* his *Evangelical Preparation*, and *Evangelical Demonstration*, &c. as of *Clemens Alexandrinus* his Works of the same Edition. They have added nothing to the Paris Edition but new Faults. Although *Eusebius* doth not observe in those Discourses a very exact Order, yet because he divides them into Chapters, one may more easily follow him than *Clemens*; and in this Edition the Citations are better distinguish'd from the Words of the Author, than in the Works of the Catechist of *Alexandria*; for there is some *Comma's* in the Margin of the Passages that are quoted, or they are in *Italick* Characters. However, there is still some Distinctions of *Paragraphs* wanting in it, as well as in that of *Clemens*.

The

The Life

OF

Gregory Nazianzen.

* Vid. *Pagi*
Crit. Baron.
ad An. 354,
§ 368.

† *Greg.*
Presb. in
ejus Vita.

|| *Orat. 19.*
p. 289.

GREGORY was * born, according to the most exact Chronology, in the Year 300, in a Village of the Second Cappadocia, named *Arianzum*, near the City of *Nazianzum*, from whence comes the Surname that is commonly given him. His Father and Mother † were Persons of Quality, and their Vertue was esteem'd by those who knew them, if we may believe their Son, who always speaks of them with great Commendations. He says, that his Father, whose Name was *Gregory* too, was born of Parents who had I know not what Religion, which did partake of the Heathenish and the Jewish. || They had neither Idols nor Sacrifices, but they worshipped *Fire* and *Torches*. They kept the *Sabbath*, abstained from

from eating the Flesh of certain Beasts, and yet despised Circumcision. They went by the Name of *Υἱσάετοι*, because they boasted of worshipping none but the *Supreme God*, *Υἱσὸν*. They seem to have taken the Worship of *Fire* from the *Magi* of *Cappadocia*, who went by the Name of * *Pyrethes*, be-
* Strab. l. 15.
 cause of the respect they had for *Fire*, which they look'd upon as the Symbol of the *Supreme Deity*. But they were not like them in other things. 'Tis a surprising thing, that *Gregory*, who (as hath been said) denies that they worshipped Idols, and says that his Father was born with those Sentiments, † should positively say elsewhere, that he was *subject to the Images of Animals*.
† Carm. 1. de rebus suis. v. 125. ὅτι εἰδωλὸς πᾶσι καὶ Ζῷον.
 It seems that either his Memory was somewhat weak on this occasion, or his great Zeal made him fall into that Contradiction; unless one had rather excuse him, by looking on what he says of the *Idols of Animals*, which his Father worshipped, as a Rhetorical Exaggeration, a Figure common enough in *Gregory's* Style. As for his Mother *Nonna*, she was born of Christian Parents, who had been careful of her Education, and found her extremely enclined to Piety. Her Son doth also infinitely praise her Parts and Conduct.

A Woman with such Dispositions could hardly allow that her Husband should profess

self the Errors of the *Hypfistarians*. Besides, *Gregory* was a good-natur'd and temperate Man; so that tho' he had some erroneous Opinions, yet his Life was unblameable. *Nonna* was continually urging him to get himself instructed in the Christian Religion; but he could not be perswaded to't, till he had a Dream, which made him resolve upon it. He dreamed that he was singing those words of the Cxxii. Psalm, *I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord.* That way of Singing, though new, pleased him; and his Wife failed not to take hold of this Opportunity, to persuade him to embrace Christianity.

It happen'd at the very same time, that *Leontius* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, went that way with some other Bishops, in his Journey to *Nice*, where *Constantine* had called a Council. *Gregory* went to see him, and told him that he had a mind to turn Christian. *Leontius* caused him to be instructed; and whilst they were instructing him, to admit him amongst the *Cathecumeni*, he was upon his Knees, without being bid to rise, whereas the *Cathecumeni* commonly stood whilst they were instructed. Those who were there, observed that Posture, because 'twas the Posture of the Priests, when they were consecrated. And * *Orat.* 19. his Son * says, that every Body look'd upon

it as an *Omen* of his being some time or other honour'd with the Orders of a Priest. Afterwards, as the Bishop of *Nazianzum* was baptising him, those who stood by, saw him come out of the Water surrounded with Light, and the Bishop could not forbear saying that *Gregory* should succeed him in his Bishoprick ; as it happen'd, when the See of *Nazianzum* had been vacant for some time. His Son, who relates these two Circumstances, styles them *Miracles* : And because then, as now-a-days, every body believed not whatever Church-men said, he declares that he relates these Wonders only to the *Faithful*, *because none of those great things appear true to profane Men*. But a Man that is not profane, can't forbear suspecting, not of want of Sincerity, but of Credulity and Exaggeration, those *Rhetorical Souls* who take Advantage of every thing. By relating Facts of that nature, when Men think that they say what they have seen, they often say what they have thought, concerning things at which they were surprized ; and instead of the undeniable of their Eyes, they give out the doubtful Consequences of a prejudiced Mind. They believe, without any Examination, whatever is advantageous to the Party they have embraced ; and whatever is contrary to it, is false, or at least suspected.

Those

Those who will read *Gregory Nazianzen*, without making these Reflexions, will run the hazard either of looking upon him as a Man of little Sincerity, or of believing many unlikely Miracles.

* *Greg. de Vita sua,*
p. 2.

Nonna had but one Daughter in the beginning of her Marriage, if *Gorgonia*, whom *Gregory* her Brother mentions in several places, was the first Child she had ; * and she did heartily desire to have a Son. She made a Vow to God to consecrate him to him, if he gave her one ; and soon after she had a Dream, in which she saw the Face of the Son she was to have, and learned what should be his Name. Instead of one, she had two ; and as soon as they were born, she took great care of their Education, having observed in them some Dispositions which deserved to be cultivated.

† *Greg. Presb. in Vit. Gr. p. 4,*
&c.

As soon as *Gregory* came to years, he was sent to *Cæsarea*, † the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, where he was put under the best Masters, to learn Humane Learning ; that is to say, to understand the Greek Poets and Orators, and to write well in that Tongue. 'Twas the only thing that was minded in *Asia* ; and the reading of the Pagan Authors who had writ well in that Tongue, was the Study which they applied themselves to. 'Tis thought that about that time *Gregory* became acquainted with
Basil,

Basil, whose Friendship was so dear to him afterwards. From *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* he went afterwards * to *Cæsarea* in *Pa-* * *Orat. 10.*
lestine, whereof *Eusebius* was Bishop. He † *p. 163.*
applied himself there † to Declaming, ac- † *Hieron.*
cording to the Custom of that time, under *de Script.*
a famous Rhetor named *Thespeus*. Having *Euzoio.*
stay'd some time at *Cæsarea*, he went to
Alexandria, which for some Centuries was
much celebrated, by reason of the learned
Men who were there. His stay there was
not useless to him; but he did not think he
could be accounted a learned Man, without
going to *Athens* the Mother of Learning.

Wherefore || he embarked on a Ship of || *De Vita*
the Island of *Ægina*, which is not far from *sua, p. 34.*
the City of *Athens*. Forasmuch as 'twas in *Orat. 19. p.*
the middle of *November*, he had not a very *306, 307.*
prosperous Passage. Being near the Isle of
Cyprus, his Ship was tossed with a violent
Storm for several Days; and Provisions
failing, the trouble they were in was atten-
ded with Hunger; so that the Seamen would
not have been able to do their Duty, had
not a *Phœnician* Ship, which the Wind car-
ried towards them, afforded them some Pro-
visions. *Gregory* says, that his greatest
grief at that time, was, that he was not Bap-
tized. That Thought affected him so
much, that he moved the Seamen with
Pity, though they were already afflicted
enough

enough with the Peril they themselves were in. He made a Vow to God, that he would get himself Baptized, and consecrate himself to God, and the Storm ceased some time after. It seems he was afraid of being damned, if he should die without Baptism; and it being the Opinion of that time, 'tis a wonder that his Father and Mother, whose Piety he doth so much extoll, should not take care that he should be Baptized, from his very Childhood. 'Tis true, Baptism might be put off, lest they should fall off from Grace, which they thought God gave to those who received it; or for fear they should be Excommunicated, if they should live after a manner unworthy of those who were Baptized. But those Fears don't take away the Difficulty; since Men are no less in danger of being damn'd if they live ill, without having received Baptism, than if they dishonour it after they have received it. However, *Gregory* says that his Parents were warned of the Danger he was in, by a Dream which made 'em pray for him. One of those who were in the same Ship saw also *Nonna*, *Gregory's* Mother, walking upon the Sea, and drawing afterwards the Ship to the shore, and then the Storm ceased. They sailed towards *Greece*, and having passed by *Rhodus*, at last they arrived at the Isle of *Egina*, from whence *Gregory* went to *Athens*.

He

He had not been there long, before
 * *Basil* came to it. Then the Friendship * *Orat. 20.*
 which they had begun to contract at *Cæsarea*, did very much encrease. Forasmuch *p. 326.*
 as they applied themselves to the same *Vid. de O-*
 Study, and had the same Inclinations, they *lympiad.*
 grew so intimate Friends, that *Gregory* says *ap. Photium. Cod.*
 they were but *One Soul in Two Bodies*. We *lxxx.*
 shall see afterwards what altered that Friend-
 ship. The *Sophists*, or Masters of Rhetorick,
 who lived at *Athens*, had every one of them
 their Faction, and endeavoured by all ima-
 ginable means to get Disciples. In order
 to it, they kept some of their Party in all
 the Avenues of the City of *Athens*, and as
 soon as they saw some Young Men who
 came to study there, those who happen'd to
 be the strongest, seized them, and then
 lodged them at their Friends. Those who
 who were able to bring many Disciples to
 their Master, paid nothing to him; which
 made the poor Scholars watchful to observe
 the Strangers who came to *Athens*. A
 Young Man being thus got into their hands,
 some among the Scholars put some Que-
 stions to him, and delighted to contradict
 him, to know whether he had any Wit.
 Afterwards, they conducted him in a
 solemn manner to the Publick Baths; and
 those who had taken him, went before him
 two and two. When he came to the Door,
 N they

they made as if they were not willing that he should go in, and made a great noise to fright him: yet they soon after let him go in; and when he had washed himself, they they put the *Philosophical Cloak* upon his Shoulders, which before he was not allowed to wear. *Basil* was exempted from that Ceremony, because he had made much greater progresses than those who commonly came to *Athens* to study there; but it doth not appear that *Gregory*, who relates that, had a like Privilege. I have observed that Custom, though not very considerable in it self; because one may thereby apprehend how much in love they were then with the *Sophistical Art*, or Rhetorick, and how greedy the Masters were of getting Disciples. One may also perceive thereby, that the Academies of those times were not better regulated than those of our time; and that in all likelihood when the Students left 'em, they were not more improved than they are now.

The two greatest Sophists that were then at *Athens*, were *Himerius* and *Proeresius*, who both were very much esteem'd by the Emperor *Julian*. The latter being * an *Armenian* by Birth, had for that reason in his School all the Youth of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and the other Provinces in the neighbourhood of this Country. Which makes

* Eunap.
Sard. in
Vita Proe-
res.

makes one believe that *Gregory* studied at *Athens* under him. The same Sophist was so much esteem'd, that the Emperor *Constans* treated him at his own Table, and sent him to *Rome* with a magnificent Train, where they erected a Statue to him, with this Inscription upon the Pedestal, *ROME THE QUEEN OF CITIES, TO THE KING OF ELOQUENCE.*

Basil having received an Honour at *Athens*, * which was seldom bestowed upon those who went thither, contracted Envy thereby. Some Young Men of *Armenia*, who had put on the *Philosophical Cloak*, and were admitted into those Schools, († where they only learned to Prattle) before him, thought themselves bound in Honour to humble that Fresh-Man. They undertook to Dispute with him; but finding him too strong for them, they would have been forced to leave him the Field of Battle, had not *Gregory*, who seriously believed that the Glory of *Athens* was concerned in it, come to their help, and made the Combat even on both sides. But he soon after perceived that the *Armenians* acted out of Envy, which made him side with *Basil*, who afterwards put his Adversaries to flight. From that time their Friendship took deeper root, and they lived very amicably together. Had it not been for the lucky meeting of

* *Nazianz. Orat. XX. p. 328.*

† *Λαρυζιζεν
σφραλιστή-
σαντες.*

such a Friend as *Gregory*, *Basil* would have been weary of *Athens*, where he found not the Learning he hoped to find in it; but *Gregory* comforted him with his Conversation, and gave him to understand, that it required some time to know thoroughly all the learned Men of a City, and to be able to judge of them without rashness. Both of them applied themselves to the wisest and most rational of those who studied at *Athens*, not to those who made the greatest figure, and disputed best. *Basil* left that City first, from whence he undertook some Travels, and at last retired to *Cæsarea*. *Gregory*, some time after, returned to *Capadocia*, to assist and comfort his Father and Mother in their Old Age. He describes, * in more than one place, in a very tender manner, a Separation which cost him many Tears; whereby one may know that *Gregory* was very tender of, and heartily loved his Friends.

* *De Vita sua*, p. 4.
 & *alibi*.

Gregory had then spent thirty years either in learning or teaching Rhetorick, as he himself says; that is to say, he left *Athens* towards the Year 354. or 355. It were almost incredible, that having a Father and a Mother very old, he should not have sooner thought to retire and live near them; nor have undertaken to do the Christian Church greater service, than to Study or Teach

Gregory Nazianzen.

181

Teach Rhetorick, * were it not that the whole Series of his Life shews it, (as the Reader will easily perceive by the remaining part of this History.) *Julian*, who was afterward Emperor, was also there, rather (as *Gregory* says) to consult the Diviners concerning his Fortune, than to study Philosophy. From that time *Gregory* began to hope no good thing from him, (as I shall observe, when I come to the Orations he made against him.) After *Basil's* departure, he applied himself especially to Eloquence, and Declamed with so much Applause, that every body look'd upon him as one of the chief Orators of that time. He was not naturally enclined, as he himself says, to that sort of life; and he soon after made his escape from *Athens*, where he had been detained, as it were, against his will, without taking his leave of any Body. † He loved naturally a quiet life, which made him averse to any manner of life that would have made him too busie. Those who live after that manner, and perform well their Employments, seemed to him to be only useful to others; and those who live altogether in a retreat, seem'd to him to be only good for themselves. He wished he might keep a *Medium* between those two Extreames, and lead a kind of a Monastical life in the midst of the World, without

* Vid. *Pagi*
Crit. Ba-
ron. ad An.
354, &
388,

† *De Vita*
sua, p. 5, 6,
& Orat. x,
p. 165,

taking upon him any Employment but such as he would have chosen, and without being obnoxious to some troublesome Irregularities, which render the best Employments unpleasant.

He departed from *Athens* full of those thoughts, and went to *Constantinople* by Land. He found there his Brother *Cæsarius*, who came thither by Sea, at his return from *Alexandria*, where he had studied Physick.

* Orat. x.
p. 164.

* He had got so great a Reputation, during the little time that he stay'd at *Constantinople*, that the Emperor would keep him for his Physician, make him a Citizen of *Constantinople*, and confer upon him the Dignity of a Senator. Though *Cæsarius* was very willing to yield to those Solicitations, yet his Parents Wishes, and his Brother's Exhortations prevailed, and he set out with him to go to *Nazianzum*. But having stay'd there some time, he returned to *Constantinople*, where it was much more pleasant to live than in a desert Town of *Capadocia*. As for *Gregory*, he was Baptized at *Nazianzum*, and his Father persuaded him soon after to renounce that quiet life, which he designed to lead, and to take the Orders of a Priest. *Gregory*, a great while after, could not † forbear naming that Action || of his Father a *Tyranny*. But the Respect he had for him, and the Troubles that

† De Vita
sua, p. 6.
|| Ep. xi.

that good Men were put to, during the *Arian* Controversies, wherein his Father himself was concerned, obliged him patient-ly to bear the yoke that was laid on him.

Basil had made him * promise, that when * *Ep. v.*
he should leave *Athens*, he would come *Greg.*
and live with him : But *Gregory* could not be as good as his Word, being obliged to live with his Parents. He invited *Basil* to come and see him sometimes, but it doth not appear that they were ever long together. Several Persons † wished that he † *Orat. xi.*
would take Priests Orders, but afterwards did not oftener frequent the Church of *Nazianzum* for all that, as he upbraids them with it in one of his *Orations*, in which, notwithstanding, he praises the Concord and Orthodoxy of that Church. He doth also bestow upon them a considerable Commendation, *viz.* that they made Piety to consist, not in speaking much of God, but in being silent, and obeying him. If Ancient and Modern Divines had endeavoured to deserve that Praise, Christianity would not have been torn by so many Disputes, nor would it be so now.

Constantius, in order to allay the *Arian* Quarrels, if it were possible, called an *Oecumenick* Council, in the Year 359, which was divided into two Assemblies. The Eastern Bishops were to hold theirs at

* Socrat.
L. II. c. 40.

Seleucia in *Isauria*; and the Western, at *Ariminum*, a Town of *Romania*. The *Arians* who were at *Seleucia* * made a Confession of Faith, in which supposing that no unscriptural Term was to be used, and consequently that the word *Consubstantial* ought not to be used, they only said, that the Son was like the Father, according to the Apostle, who says, That the Son is the Image of the Invisible God. Those who said that the Son was not like the Father, were also condemned in it. *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, drew up that Confession of Faith. The same *Acacius*, and those of his Party, approved the Confession of *Ariminum*, which was worded after the same manner. † They only added to it, that in this matter, the words *Substance* and *Hypostasis* ought not to be used; because those words which had caused so many Disputes, were not to be found in the Holy Scripture. In the mean time, the *Arians* being urged by the Orthodox to say in what that Resemblance of the Father did consist, made it to consist only in the Will: Whereas the others maintained, That the Substance of the Son, though distinct, was altogether like the Substance of the Father. But forasmuch as equivocal Terms were used by both Parties, it gave occasion to those who were not skill'd in those Subtilties, to equivocate,

† Socrat.
L. II. c. 41.
by Sozom.
L. 4. c. 29.

equivocate, and confound two very different Opinions. Gregory's Father was one of those who fell into that Snare ; * he subscribed to the Confessions of Faith of *Seleucia* and *Ariminum* : The miraculous Light which appeared at his Baptism, and his Study since that time, had not enlightened his Mind to such a degree, as to make him understand the *Arian* Controversies. That Action of the Bishop of *Nazianzum* allarm'd the Monks of *Cappadocia*, who being full of Zeal for the *Consubstantiality*, refused to Communicate with the good Man, and got part of the People on their side. 'Tis likely that his Son *Gregory* was not then at *Nazianzum* ; for he would have hindred his Father from committing a Fault, which he obliged him to acknowledge by a publick Recantation.

Having thus appeased the Monks, *Gregory* the Son got into the Pulpit, and made the Discourse concerning *Peace*, which is his *XII. Oration*, in the presence of his Father, who was not to be compared to him for Eloquence and Learning. 1. He says, That the pleasure he had to see *Peace* restored to the Church of *Nazianzum*, had induced him to make that Discourse, whereas before nothing could persuade him to speak. 2. That he had been extremely moved at the Division which had before happened ; especially

* *Orat. xix.*
p. 297. &
it. Greg.
p. 11.

especially considering the austere and holy Life of the Monks, which he describes by the bye, with great Rhetorical Exaggerations. 3. That Divisions are the cause of

all sorts of Mischiefs; and that they had reason to thank God, because that which arose in the Church of *Nazianzum* was over.

4. That the Church of *Nazianzum*, which before that last Division, knew not what Schism was, ought to endeavour for the future to enjoy a perpetual Peace. 5. That

in the last Discord, Men were so fully persuaded that the Bishop of *Nazianzum* acted sincerely, and kept the Truth of the Faith, that they upbraided him only with his being imposed upon by equivocal Words.

6. That every thing invites us to Peace; God, Angels, and all Creatures which are maintained by Concord. 7. That the *Jews*

had been happy whilst they were at Peace one with another, but became unfortunate as soon as they were divided. 8. Notwith-

standing, that all manner of Peace ought not to be sought after, but that a *medium* ought to be kept; and that 'tis one's Duty to oppose Heresie with all one's might, when any body professes it openly; but that one ought to forbear making a Schism upon meer Suspensions.

* Pag. 203.

* When (says he) that which troubles us, is only a Suspicion, and a Fear grounded upon no Certainty;

Patience

Patience is more useful than Precipitation,
and Condescension more than Passion. 'Tis
much better to remain united together,
to correct mutually one another, as the
Members of the same Body ; than to con-
demn one another by a Schism, before they
understand reciprocally one another ; or
to lose the Trust which they put one in
another by a Division, and than to under-
take to correct others, not after a bro-
therly, but tyrannical manner, with Edicts
and Laws. — Lastly, Gregory exhorts the
Church of *Nazianzum* to keep the good *de-*
positum concerning the Doctrine of the Tri-
nity, which he expresses in these terms :

* We worship a Father, a Son, and a Holy * *Pag. 204.*
Spirit ; in the Son we acknowledge
the Father, and in the Holy Spirit the
Son, &c. Before we join them, we di-
stinguish 'em ; and before we distinguish
'em, we join 'em. We don't look upon
those Three Things as One (G O D,) for
they are not things † destitute of a distinct
Existence, or that have but One Existence,
so that our Riches be only in Names, not
in Things, and that Three Things be
really but One. 'Tis One Thing not in
Existence, but in Divinity. We worship
an Unity in a Trinity ; and that Trinity
re-united in the Unity, is all adorable
and Royal ; it hath but One Throne and
Glory ;

† Ἀντίστα
ἢ μὴ μὴ
ὑποστάσεις.
See the
Life of
Eusebius.

' Glory ; it is all above the World, above Time, Uncreated, &c.

That Speech, as almost all the Speeches of Gregory, is, 1st. Without any great Order: Thoughts are heaped one upon another, as they came into the Author's Mind ; a Defect which almost all the ancient Orators were guilty of, as well as he, and which makes him repeat the same things to no purpose. 2^{dly}. His Reasonings seem too far-fetch'd, and are not very convincing ; as when he says, That *the World is preserved by Peace* : That's a far-fetch'd Thought ; and the contrary might be said, as indeed some Philosophers have asserted, That the Opposition which is between the several Parts of the Universe, keeps them in the state they are in, because they hinder one another from leaving it. 3^{dly}. The Style of that *Oration* is too full of Figures, little correct, and even sometimes harsh ; all which things often breed Obscurity. However, it must be confest, that he abounds in noble Comparisons, and happy and Energick Expressions, such as those * which he uses in that place wherein he condemns the Schism which I have mention'd. He is also full of Ornaments, taken out of History, or Heathenish Fables ; nay, he speaks sometimes of the later, as the Pagan Philosophers did without openly rejecting them. Thus,

ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ
ἐν τῇ
ἐκείνῃ
ἐν ταῖς ἐπεί-
ται ἐξ ἑν-
ταύμας,
ἐστὶν τῇ
ἐκείνῃ αὐ-
τῇ αὐτοῦ,
νομοθετεῖν
τὴν δόξαν
αὐτήν.

Thus, speaking of the Flames of *Mount Aetna*, he uses this Expression, * *whether* * *Orat. iii. p. 86.*
it be something else, or the blowing of a Giant
in torment. Elsewhere, having spoken of the Torments of *Tantalus*, *Ixion*, † and † *Orat. iv. p. 132.*
Tityus, he adds; *whether it be True, or a*
Fable, which teaches us the Truth under a
Fiction. Yet there is no doubt but *Gregory* look'd upon all those things as meer Fables; but the Greek Philosophers, whom he had carefully read, spoke after the same manner. It seems, that the custom of speaking as others did, made *Gregory* say many things, which he had read in Pagan Authors, without being willing to examine 'em. But he is far from equalling the Neatness, Exactness and Elegancy of *Isocrates*, whom, they say, he proposed to himself as his Model. I thought my self obliged to set down here, in a few words, what may be said of *Gregory's* Style, that I may forbear repeating it, when I come to speak of his other *Oration*s. I shall only present the Reader with some Examples of what I have said, when occasion offers.

I must also observe here, once for all, that *Gregory*, with respect to Philosophy, followed the *Platonic*, from which he borrows several terms, which can't be understood without the knowledge of it. Thus, he says, " || That God is the most Excellent || *Pag. 198.*
 " and

“ and Highest of all Beings, if one had not
 “ rather place him above the Essence, and
 “ put in him the Whole Being, since he
 “ gives it to other things. — To under-
 stand the meaning of those words, *to be*
above the Essence, we must know, that the
Platonicks establish’d some *Chains* of Beings,
 as they worded it; that is, a *Series* of
 Beings placed one above another: so that
 going up by degrees, in that Chain, more
 excellent Beings did still offer themselves;
 and at last the Supreme Trinity, which is
 above all the Essences of those Beings, that
 is to say, which can’t be referred to any
 particular *Species*, but contains in it self all
 their Essences, and therefore can produce
 * Vid. Pro-
 clum. Theol
 Platon. l. 3.
 c. 20. &
 alibi.

em. * Whence it is that those Philosophers
 say, that the Gods have some *Super-essential*
Qualities. Without the knowledge of that
 Platonick Doctrine, one can’t know Gre-
 gory’s meaning in the words which I have
 just now quoted.

He says in the same Page, “ That An-
 “ gels partake first of the Light; That they
 “ are enlightned by the True Reason, and
 “ that they are some Beams of that Perfect
 “ Light. — All those terms are taken
 from the bottom of *Platonism*, as I could
 easily shew by explaining them, were it
 not that I should too much enlarge.

To

To return to the Historical part: The *Arians* being informed of the Division which happened at *Nazianzum*, took advantage of it, and laughed at the Orthodox. Which gave occasion to *Gregory* to make the Homily, which is the XIII. amongst his *Orations*; wherein he shews the *Arians*, that the Division of *Nazianzum* having been only by a Mistake, and having not lasted long, they did unjustly insult over that Church. Besides, he shews the advantage which the Orthodox had over the *Arians* and *Sabellians*, by comparing the Opinions of those three Societies one with another. Though that Passage is somewhat long, yet I shall set it down here; because those who have not very well studied those Matters, will better understand what was the Opinion of the Orthodox at that time, than they have done from the Passage of the XII. *Oration*, which I have cited.

* Why (*says he*) d'ye love Vanity, * *Pag. 208.*
 ' and look after Lyes, by giving (*he speaks*
 ' to the *Arians*) to the Deity a Nature
 ' which is neither One, nor Simple, but
 ' Three Natures which are divided and se-
 ' parated, and even contrary, by reason of
 ' the Proprieties which the one hath, and
 ' the others want; or by establishing One
 ' only Nature (*he speaks to the Sabellians*)
 ' but a narrow and streightened one, and
 ' which

which hath not the Propriety of being
 the Principle of great things, either for
 want of Power or Will. It should be
 either out of Envy or Fear, to establish
 nothing which should equal it in Honour,
 or oppose it. But by how much God is
 more Excellent than the Creatures, by so
 much is it a thing more worthy of the
 First Cause to be the Principle of a DEITY,
 than of Creatures, and not to come to the
 latter but by a DEITY which is between
 both; than if a Deity existed (*according*
to the Arians) because of the Creatures,
 as it seems to those who are too subtle.
 If when we confess the Dignity of the Son
 and Spirit, we acknowledged no Principle
 of them, or if we referred them to a Prin-
 ciple of another nature, one might have
 some reason to fear that we dishonour the
 Deity, or introduce some Gods contrary
 one to another. — *A little lower, he says,*
That the Unity moved it self, because of
its Riches; and that the Number of Two
was encreased, because the Deity is above
Matter and Form, which are the Two
Principles which Bodies are made of;
That the Trinity is bounded, because of
its Perfection, and surpasses the Conjun-
ction of Two; so that the Deity is nei-
ther too much streightned, nor enlarged
to Infinity. — The former (as he goes on)
 hath

* Τῷ ὁμοιωμένῳ
 from whence
 comes the
 word ὁμοίωσις.

hath somewhat that's mean; and the latter would breed a Confusion. The former is altogether *Jewish*, and the latter *Heathenish*. — The word, *to move one's self*, here is a *Platonick* term, * which those Philosophers use, when they speak of the Productions of the Deity: And Gregory means, that the Divine Nature was multiplied to Three *Hypostases*, or Three *Idividuum's*; which is opposite to *Judaism*, which acknowledges but One Supreme Nature; and to *Paganism*, which admits of too many Gods. The *Platonicks* disputed about this among themselves; some maintained, That the Supreme Deity had multiplied it self only to Three Gods; and that whatever is beyond it is not of a like Nature; and others extended it to a greater number of Deities. *Plato* and † *Porphyrus* were of the former Opinion, and *Plotinus* of the latter.

* Vid. *Plotin. Ennead. v. l. 1. c. 6, 7.*

* Vid. *Cyryl viii. cont. Julian. & Plotin. Ennead. v. l. 8. c. 12.*

Julian being come to the Throne, in the Year 361, fought for all manner of ways to ruine the Christians; and perceiving that they made a great use of the Pagan Authors, either to fit themselves for Eloquence, or to take from them some Reasons fit to defend the Christian Religion, and attack Paganism, he undertook to hinder the Christians from applying themselves to the study of Humane Learning: Some Antients say

that

* Vid. *Pagi*
* *d. An. 362.*

that he forbade 'em * not only to keep Schools to teach it, but also to go to those of the Pagan Grammarians and Orators; others seem only to say that the Christians were forbidden to keep Schools. *Julian* himself says in express † words, in one of his Letters, that the Children of Christians should not be forbidden to go to the Schools of Pagans, however without forcing them to it; because those who sin only for want of Understanding, ought to be taught, not punished. *Gregory Nazianzen* mentions that Prohibition of *Julian* in his Third Oration: But, as a || Modern Author judiciously observes, forasmuch as he speaks there more like an Orator than an Historian, tis a difficult thing to find out what he means. 'Tis an ill effect of the continual Rhetorick of most of the Antients: They are so Eloquent, that they can't be understood. 'Tis likely that *Julian* did not forbid the Children of Christians to go to the Schools of Pagan Teachers, either because he himself says so, or because it was a good way to seduce 'em. Hence it is, that some learned Men amongst the Christians, as both *Apolinarius's* and *Gregory*, put the Scripture and Doctrines of Religion in Greek Verses, or fine Prose. Those Writings might supply the room of those of the Ancient Pagans, and the Youth needed no Grammarians to udder-

|| *Pagi ad*
Ann. 362.

† *Ep. xlii.*

understand 'em. Parents might easily be instead of Tutors to their Children, to explain those Christian Verses to them, after they had read the Holy Scripture. However, that Prohibition made the Christians very angry, who could not abide that their Grammarians, Rhetors and Philosophers should have been sent back to the Churches of the Galileans (these are Julian's words) to explain there Matthew and Luke. Had they never done any thing else, they would not have introduced so many new words, nor handled the Doctrines then in question with so many Subtilties, nor would the Platonick Philosophy have had so great a share in their Decisions.

About that time, *Cæsarius*, Gregory's Brother, who was returned (as hath been said) to *Constantinople*, was made *Julian's* Chief Physician; and because of his Learning, he was admitted into the number of the Friends of that Emperor, who loved learned Men. Whereupon *Gregory* wrote to him a very sharp * Letter, wherein he tells him, That * *Ep. xvii.* he had made all his Family ashamed, by reason of his Conduct; That every body wonder'd that a Bishop's Son should follow the Court, and endeavour to get Honours and Riches among the Pagans; That he made his Father's Life unpleasant to him, who could not blame in others what his Son

O 2

did;

did ; That they were obliged to conceal his Conduct from his Mother, lest she should die with Grief ; That he had enough to live handfomly, without exposing himself to so great danger. Lastly, That if he went on in the same manner of life, he must be rank't among those Christians who least deserve that Name. If *Cæsarius* was not persuaded by that Letter to return to his Parents, 'tis likely however that it strengthened him against *Julian's* Endeavours to induce him to renounce Christianity, which his Brother mentions in * one of his *Orations*. He says, that *Cæsarius* having answer'd all his Reasons, protested to him that he was a Christian, and would be so all his life-time ; and that *Julian*, in the presence of many Persons of his Court, cried out, thinking of the Bishop of *Nazianzum* and his two Sons, O Happy Father ! O Unhappy Children ! *Cæsarius* being either weary of *Julian's* Solicitations, or moved with his Brother's Advice, returned to *Nazianzum*, when *Julian* set out to go against the *Persians*.

† *Orat. xix.* It seems that about the same time, *Julian* sent a Captain with some Archers † to *Nazianzum*, to take possession of the Church of the Christians. But he was so far from being able to perform what he desired, that if he had not speedily made his escape, by the

* *Orat. x.*
p. 167, 168.

† *Orat. xix.*
p. 308.

the Bishop's or some other's Advice, he must have retired with broken Legs ; * so <sup>Modis
Exordis pe-
dibus lace-
ratis.</sup> great was the Ardour of that Priest's (Gregory the Father) Anger and Zeal for that Church ! Those are the very words of his Son : Which shews, that those good Men did not always preach up *Passive Obedience*.

In the Year 363, *Julian* was killed in his Retreat before the *Persian* Army : † An effect, † Ibid. if we believe charitable *Gregory*, of the Prayers of the same Bishop and People, who designed to break the Legs of the Captain of the Archers, whom I mentioned just now.

At that time *Gregory* composed his two *Investives* against *Julian*, wherein he omits nothing that can make him odious to all Posterity. Those two *Orationes* are as full of Resentment and Passion, as can be imagined, against a Man, who, abating of his Paganism, had been one of the Greatest Emperors that ever were in the *Roman* Empire. A learned Man believed that those two *Orationes* were made publick whilst *Julian* was alive ; but 'tis a Mistake : *Gregory* mentions his Death in both of them. The same || Author observes, not without reason, || *P. Cuius
Pref. in
Caesares
Juliani.*
‘ That we are extremely deceived by the
‘ Authority of some of those who have been
‘ formerly illustrious in the Church, when
‘ we come to judge after them of some
‘ Princes of their time. Prejudices are so

' strong (as he goes on) that most Men
 ' examine nothing, but are drawn by the
 ' Holiness of those great Men. The Vulgar
 ' fancies that 'tis a great Sin to believe that
 ' the Piety of those Men was not always at-
 ' tended with a great Candour. For my
 ' part, as I am persuaded that they had
 ' great Vertue, so I do believe that they
 ' have committed some Faults out of Pas-
 ' sion, and I remember that they are very
 ' sharp. To say nothing of others, those
 ' who had some Reputation in *Greece*, were
 ' apt, according to the ill Custom of their
 ' Nation, to fall into Extreams, &c. They
 ' cast into Hell those with whom they
 ' were angry, although their Verrue had
 ' raised them to Heaven: And on the con-
 ' trary, they have so much extolled those
 ' whom they undertook to Praise, that
 ' Posterity admires now-a-days their Vertue,
 ' which was scarce of the second Order. —
 Those who will judge soundly of the *Panegyrics*
 and *Invectives* of the Christian An-
 tiquity, ought necessarily to remember that
Genius of the *Greeks*.

* Orat. iii.
 p. 49.

I. Gregory begins his * First *Invective*
 with opprobrious Words against *Julian*; to
 the hearing of which he invites Heaven and
 Earth. He addresses himself particularly
 to the Soul of *Constans*, who made *Julian*
Cæsar: speaking to him he adds these
 words,

words, * *If the Dead perceive any thing* : * Pag. 50.
 From whence it appears, that he doubted
 whether the Dead know any thing of what
 passes below. Yet he says elsewhere, † *That* † Pag. 63.
he censures him, as if Constans was present
and heard him, although he was with God,
and enjoyed his Glory : Which shews that
 this was only a meer Rhetorical *Apostrophe*,
 from which nothing can be concluded.

2. He very much wonders that *Constans*
 raised *Julian* to the Dignity of *Cæsar*, know-
 ing what he was ; and at the same time
 makes the *Encomium* of the former, whose
 Piety he praises every where : || He defends || Pag. 65.
 him against those who accused him of Im-
 prudence, for having raised *Julian* so high,
 after he had put to death his Brother *Gallus* ;
 and says, that he hoped to allay the Mind
 of *Julian* by his Favours, and that trusting
 altogether to his own strength, he did not
 fear him in the least, as one might have
 seen, if *Constans* had not died. In the fol-
 lowing Speech against *Julian*, speaking of
 the same Emperor, he excuses him * for the * Orat. iv.
 Protection he granted to the *Arians*. He p. 119.
 says that he was imposed upon, out of Sim-
 plicity, and want of Firmness, and that he
 was deceived by the seeming Zeal he per-
 ceived in the *Arian* Officers of the Court.
 It would be a difficult thing to reconcile
 that with the Principles of *Gregory*, who

look'd upon the *Arian* Disputes as material ones, were it not that 'tis well known that the words of an Orator are not to be urged as those of a Mathematician. But it would be a hard matter to reconcile him with *St. Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers*, who treated *Constans* much worse than *Gregory* did *Julian*. Those Great Men acted as others do; they spake according to the present Passion they were led by, without very much weighing the Figures and Expressions which they used.

* Pag. 51.

3. *Gregory* * doth justly laugh at *Julian*, who forbade the Christians to teach Profane Learning; for the Reasons of the Christians would not have been less strong, though they were not propounded with so great Eloquence. But he feigneth to despise Eloquence and Politeness, which certainly he did not despise, and which he displays, as much as he can, in all his Writings, which would be very often clearer, if there was not so much Rhetorick in them. He doth also upbraid *Julian*, who trusted much his Eloquence, with the great desire he shewed of taking from the Christians the Means of acquiring it; which (says he) is the same thing as if a Champion should Hector, and play the Courageous Man, after he hath forbidden all other Champions to fight with him.

4. He

4. He assures * that *Constans* had taken * *Pag. 58.*
 a particular Care of the Education of *Gallus*
 and *Julian*, Sons of one of his Uncles, Bro-
 ther of *Constantine*, and whose Name was
 also *Constans*, to shew that he had no hand
 in the Murther of the latter, which was
 committed when *Constans*, *Constantine's* Son,
 came to the Throne. Nay, he designed to
 impart the Empire to his two Sons, who
 were of a very different Temper, if we be-
 lieve *Gregory*. Though they had been in-
 structed after the same manner, and would
 both be *Anagnostes*, or read the Holy Scrip-
 ture in the Church, it appeared afterwards
 that one of them was no Christian. Besides,
 there was a report, and *Gregory* believed it
 was true, that *Gallus* and *Julian* building a
 Temple, at common Costs, to the Honour
 of some Martyrs, that which *Gallus* caused
 to be built, did sensibly encrease; but the
 Earth quaked in the place wherein *Julian*
 was building, and whatever was raised,
 sunk down. There happened many other
 Miracles besides, all different from those of
 the Gospel, which were not wrought so
 much in the behalf of Unbelievers, as of
 those whose Disposition made 'em not al-
 together unworthy of them. 'Tis true,
 that † *Gregory* says, that some Lyes had † *Pag. 70.*
 been mixed with the Truth, and relates
 only, in a doubtful way, what was reported,
 that

that *Julian*, as he was sacrificing, saw a Crowned Cross in the Bowels of a Victim. But he assures as certain some things that are much more incredible, in the following

* *Page. 71.* *Oration*; * and in this he says, that *Julian* having called out the *Demons*, with certain Sacrifices, could not forbear being frightened, as soon as he heard the Noise, and that he saw certain Fires which commonly precede their Apparition; and that forasmuch as he had been bred up in the Christian Religion, he made the Sign of the Cross, which presently drove away all those *Spectrum's*. The Priest, who performed the Ceremonies, and perceived the trouble *Julian* was in, told him that the Gods abhorred him upon that account, not that they were afraid of the Sign of the Cross, which he had made.

† *Page. 72.* 5. *Gregory* † derides the Artifices which *Julian* made use of to persecute the Christians, without procuring them the Honour of Martyrdom, and without seeming to treat them ill; because whatever Pretence he used, one might easily see that their greatest Crime was Christianity. Persecution upon the account of Religion, is so odious of it self, even to all those who have still some sense of Humanity left, that even those who practice it, are ashamed of it, when Superstition and Cruelty allow them some time to think somewhat more calmly

on

on what they are doing. This is so true, that most of those who have suffered themselves to be led by the blind Zeal of Persecution, have used the same Artifices. We have seen an egregious Example of it in our Age; and if what *Gregory* says here of the pitiful Arts and Cunnings of *Julian*, be compared with what was lately done in a great Kingdom, one will find a great Resemblance between both. I shall omit it here, lest any body should think that I design to insist upon so odious a Parallel.

6. Amongst other Reasons, which *Gregory* uses, to shew that *Julian* could not succeed in his Design, he describes thus the Power of the Saints which the Christians honoured; * Did you not fear those on * *Pag. 75,*
 ' whom so great an Honour is bestowed, 77.
 ' and for whom solemn Feasts have been
 ' instituted; by whom the *Demons* are
 ' driven away, and Diseases cured, whose
 ' Apparitions and Predictions are known;
 ' the very Bodies whereof have as much
 ' Vertue as their holy Souls, whether they
 ' be touched or honoured; some drops of
 ' whose Blood only have the same Vertue
 ' with their Bodies? — It appears from
 those words, and several other places out
 of *Gregory*, and other Fathers in his time,
 that they had already a great respect for
 the Relicks of Saints, and venerated a great
 many

many Miracles wrought at their Graves. 'Tis to be wondered how *Gregory*, who loved Exaggerations, said not that the Bodies of the Saints had a greater Vertue after their Death, than during their Life; for there is no comparison between the multitude of Miracles which are said to have been wrought at the Graves of Martyrs, and those which they wrought whilst they were alive. Several People believe that the want of Sincerity of some Christians, and the Credulity of some others, did very much contribute to the keeping up of Paganism.

* Pag. 77.

7. Our Author * makes afterwards an *Encomium* of the Monks, and despises *Socrates*, *Plato*, and all the Heathen Philosophers. *Gregory* upbraids *Julian* with his not esteeming Vertue in his Enemies; but certainly his Zeal made him on this occasion commit somewhat like it; and 'tis very certain that he had learned more by the reading of *Plato* and *Socrates*'s Discourses, than by his Conversation with all the Monks he had seen. As for Manners, the continual Seditions of those Pious Hermits, and their implacable Temper, do plainly enough shew that they were infinitely below those great Patterns of the Pagan Antiquity.

† Pag. 80.

8. He † rightly observes, that to design the ruine of the Christian Religion, in a time

time when the *Roman* Empire was full of Christians, was to undertake to ruine the Empire it self. When they were but a small number, they might have been ill treated without any danger to the State; but it could not then be done, without causing great Commotions, and too great Disorders in it. It were to be wished that the Imitators of *Julian* had well considered that Advertisement of *Gregory*, who despises, with great reason, whatever might be good in *Julian's* Government, if compared with the mischief which so detestable a Design would have been the cause of, if he had been able to execute it. Besides, one could have wish'd that our Age * had been well acquainted with the horror the Christians had for the Snares which *Julian* laid for his Officers and Soldiers. *Gregory* says that some Christian Soldiers having, on one day wherein *Julian* was distributing some Liberalities to his Army, thrown Incense into the Fire in his presence, according to an ancient Custom; it had been interpreted, as if they had incens'd the Idols; and having been told of their fault, as they were praying to *Christ* by making the Sign of the Cross after a Meal, by some who told 'em that they had renounced him, they presently went into the publick Place, and cried even in the Emperor's hearing, that they had been

* *Pag. 83.*
84.

been surprized, and were Christians. *Julian* being angry because they had found out that Surprize, sent 'em into Banishment.

* Pag. 87,
88.

9. *Gregory* describes * some horrible Cruelties against the Christians, which *Julian* had either commanded or suffered in *Egypt* and *Syria*. He says, that the Inhabitants of *Arethusa*, a Town of *Syria*, after they had exposed some Virgins consecrated to God to a thousand Infamies, killed them, ate their Liver raw, and threw their Bodies to be eaten by Dogs, having cover'd them with Barley. The same People treated with an abominable Barbarity, the Bishop of that Town, who notwithstanding seemed to be insensible in the midst of Torments. There might be some Exaggerations in

† Pag. 88. this, and † *Gregory* says, that that Bishop had, in *Constantine's* time, demolished an *Habitation of Daemons*; that is, a Pagan Temple, according to the Power he had received from the Emperor. That Action of *Mark* of *Arethusa* drew on him the Hatred of the People, as a Heathen would have been detested by the Christians, if he had pull'd down one of their Churches. Notwith-

|| Pag. 97. standing, *Gregory* says || a little lower, not only that the Christians had not treated the Pagans, as they were treated by them; but he asks them *what Liberty the Christians took from them?* As if it was nothing to pull down

down their Temples, as they did* since the ^{* Sozom.} Empire of *Constantine* ! They went on ^{l. 2. c. 5.} with the same Rigour, under the following Emperors; and to leave nothing that the Pagans might be upbraided with, they forced, on pain of Death, to sacrifice to Idols, with the Applauses of all Christians, if we believe † *St. Augustine*. I must not forget † *Ep. 48.* here to observe another effect of *Gregory's* ^{ad Vincen-} Rhetorick, viz speaking of the Christian ^{tium.} Virgins of *Arctusa*, who had been so ill treated, he doth not only inveigh against the Pagans, but also addresses himself to our Saviour, by way of *Apostrophe*, in these words; O *Jesus Christ* ! how shall I suffer the Patience you shewed them.

110. *Julian* added || Insults to ill Treat- || *Pag. 94.* ments; and when he deprived the Christians of their Estates, he said that he only helped them to observe the Gospel, which commands to despise them. That Railery may be seen in *Julian's* Forty third Letter, where he says, that the Church of the *Arians* of *Edessus* having used them violently, he had confiscated all the Money of that Church, to distribute it to the Soldiers; and kept their other Goods for himself, lest the *Arians* being too rich, should not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. To which *Gregory* answers, amongst other things, that *Julian*, by acting so, must needs have fancied

fancied that the Gods of Pagans are well pleased that Men should be deprived of what they have, without having deserved it, and so that they approve Injustice. He might have been content with that Answer; but he adds, That Christ hath commanded some things as necessary, and propounded some others only for those who would observe them, without absolutely obliging any body to do it. Such is (according to Gregory) the Command of *forsaking what one hath*.

II. One of the things which offended most the Christians of that time, and about which they did not always defend themselves so well as they might have done, is, their being upbraided by the Pagans with
 * *Pag. 99.* keeping up Ignorance, * since they preached nothing but Faith: *You don't reason* (said Julian to them,) *you are meer Clowns, and all your Wisdom consists in saying, Believe.* Gregory answers to that, 'That if Julian derided the Christians, by reason of that Method, he should also have derided Pythagoras, whose Disciples were wont to say, when they were ask'd the Reason of something, *That Pythagoras had said so,* which is all one.—*He adds,* That the Christians mean only by it, That it is not lawful to refuse to believe what hath been said by Men Inspired of God; but that they so
 ' much

* much deserve to be believed, that that
 * only is a Demonstration of what they say,
 * stronger than the whole Faculty of Rea-
 * soning and Contradicting. — *Celsus*
 had raised the same Objection,* and laughed * *Origen.*
 at those who said, *Examine nothing, but* *in Celsus.*
believe. *Origen* answered, That it was in- *p. 8, &c.*
 deed impossible for the Common People to
 examine things thoroughly ; and that there
 was nothing more convenient for them,
 than to Believe, without knowing why.
 Such Answers could not very much recom-
 mend Christianity, nor put the Christians
 in a Condition of Triumphant over the
 Pagans, who might have stopt their mouths
 with like Answers. For, if one must Be-
 lieve, without knowing why, one may as
 well believe any thing, though never so ab-
 surd.

12. *Julian* having observed that the
 Church Discipline and good Order among
 the Christians, did very much contribute
 to unite them one with another ; and to en-
 crease their number, was resolved to intro-
 duce them into Paganism. He designed
 to † set up Schools in every Town, where- * *Pag. 102.*
 in the Pagan Religion and good Manners
 should be taught ; to order publick Prayers
 and Censures against those who should com-
 mit some Faults ; and to erect Monasteries,
 and Hospitals where the Poor, Sick, &c.
 P should

should be taken care of. The Christians had maintained themselves, and encreased, in the midst of Persecutions, by such means which were much more proper to work upon the Common People, than Reasoning. Those who have writ concerning the manner how Christianity was propagated, have most of them omitted, I know not why, the good Order and constant Charity practised among them.

13. To make an end of the Extract of that *Oration*, I shall only say, that *Gregory* doth afterwards * fall upon the *Theology* of the Pagans. He is much stronger on this occasion, than when he defends himself; and it seems that he knew much better the weak side of the Pagan Religion, than the strong one of his own.

* Pag. 103,
&c.

I shall further give an Extract of the chief places of his Second *Oration* against *Julian*, and then I shall only in general shew the Subject of the other Writings of *Gregory*, which will be sufficient to know his *Genius*. That *Oration* contains in general the ill Designs of *Julian* against the Christians, some of his Actions, and his Death.

† Orat. iv.
p. 111.

I. He † would favour the Jews, to oppose them to the Christians, and rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem*. When the Jews began that Work, there happened, as when

Julian

Julian himself was building with his Brother *Gallus*, so great an Earthquake, that they all ran away. As they were going into a neighbouring Temple to secure themselves, the Gates shut themselves of their own motion, as some reported it. But every body, if we believe *Gregory*, affirmed, that, as they intended to force their entrance into that Temple, some Flames came out of it, which consumed part of them, and lamed the rest. If any miraculous thing happen'd on this occasion, it must be confess'd, that they took little care to write it faithfully; since History varies so much about it, as one may see by comparing only *Socrates* and *Sozomen* with *Gregory*. However, the latter speaks very positively of that Fire, which came out of the Foundations, or out of the Temple; and to convince altogether Unbelievers, he adds, ' Let no body refuse to believe those Miracles, unless he rejects the other Miracles of God too. That which is most admirable and glorious, is, that a Light was seen in Heaven, which represented the Cross, &c. — The Miracle did not stop there; ' Let those who have seen that Miracle (says *Gregory*) shew their Cloaths mark'd with the Cross. ' As soon as any one, either of ours, or a Stranger, related this, or heard some body who related it, he perceived that Wonder

‘either in himself, or those who were by
 ‘him. He saw it shine in his Cloaths, or in
 ‘those of others, after a more artificial man-
 ‘ner than the finest Weaving, or the most
 ‘exact Picture can represent it. — That
 Miracle, together with the fore-going,
 converted an infinite number of People, if
 we believe *Gregory*.

* Pag. 114,
 &c.

2. Afterwards he * describes *Julian's*
 March, and Behaviour against the *Persians*,
 and his Death, about which they did not
 agree, some relating it one way, and some
 another; a variety to be observed not only
 amongst those who were not at the Fight,
 where he died, but also amongst those who
 were in it. *Gregory* says what he heard
 concerning it, but he hath not related
 that was reported about it, as it appears
 from what *Sozomen* relates, *lib. 4. c. 1, 2.*
 But he forbears especially saying that *Li-*
banus the Sophist accused the Christians of
 having killed that Emperor. From whence
 one may learn, that when the Question is
 about Facts, one ought not to rely too
 much upon Circumstances. Our Au-
 thor, who takes advantage of every thing,
 † Pag. 118. prefers *Constans* before *Julian*, † because
Constans his Funeral was better ordered than
 his Cousin's, and because he was Praised after
 his Death; whereas the Memory of *Julian*
 was abhorred by the Christians. Among
 the

the Ceremonies wherewith they honoured that of *Constans*, Gregory reckons * the * *Ibid.* *Nocturnal Hymns and Torches*, as if *Constans* had been the happier for it after his Death.

3. After having upbraided *Julian* with his Inconstancy, Covetousness, angry Temper, and several other Vices, † he says, that he had foreseen a great while before, when he was at *Athens*, what others knew by experience of that Emperor. It seem'd to him, that no good thing could be expected from a Man who shook his Head at ever minute, who moved and raised up his Shoulders, who had wandring Eyes, a furious Look, staggering Feet, an insolent Countenance, together with something that was ridiculous, an excessive breaking in laughter, and a broken Voice; who asked impertinent Questions, and returned no better Answers. † *Pag. 121, &c.*

When *Gregory* saw this, he said, in the presence of many Persons, that he wished to prove a false Diviner, but, *that the Roman Empire was breeding a great Evil*. A || learned Man, whom I have already quoted, || *Cunaeus* could not abide that *Gregory* should find *Praf. in* fault with *Julian* for some things, which *Casares.* of themselves have no relation with Vertue.

* Pag. 124,
127.

4. Gregory, * who had begged of God that *Julian* should be punished; as soon as he died, look'd upon the Pagans with Pity, and exhorted the Christians to treat 'em with Mildness; though he rejoyces because the Christian Churches would be no more polluted, the Altars profaned, Things consecrated to God ravished, Church-men ill treated, the Relicks of Martyrs burnt, &c. Afterwards he insults over the False Gods, and admonishes the Christians not to make an ill use of Prosperity, and to forbear doing what they reproached to the Pagans.

† Pag. 128. In the beginning of his † Exhortation, he speaks of himself thus, to excite the Attention of the Hearers: *Hear the Discourse of a Man who hath not acquired a mean knowledge of those things either by the experience of what happens every day, or by the reading of ancient Books, and ancient Histories.*

‡ Pag. 131. 5. However, the greatest || Satisfaction of the Christians, after *Julian's* Death, was, according to Gregory, that those who had persecuted the Christians, were ridiculed upon the Stage, and in Publick Places and Assemblies. "That which is surpris-
"ing (*says he*) is, that those who perse-
"cuted us together with others, do now
"overthrow, with great Acclamations, the
"Statues of the Gods, by whom they were
"so long deceived: Those who worshipp'd
"them

“ them yesterday, do now use them op-
 “ probriously. — But those who con-
 tinued in the Heathenish Religion, were un-
 doubtedly very much offended to see the
 Statues of their Gods so dealt with, and
 could not look upon the Christians as mo-
 derate Men. For certainly those Statues
 were as dear to them, as the most Sacred
 Things were to the Christians. Besides, those
 who changed their Religion, as often as
 they had a new Emperor, and became so
 suddenly Enemies to the Gods whom they
 had worshipped all their life, could not but
 be very much suspected.

6. Lastly, Gregory having * derided Ju- * *Pag. 183.*
 lian's Speeches and Writings, which not-
 withstanding are not so contemptible, tells
 him that he boasts in vain of having never
 contracted any Crudity by eating too much;
 since the Harm he had done the Christians,
 was infinitely greater than the Good which
 might accrue to the Empire from his So-
 briety. “ When one only Man (*says he*)
 “ is troubled with Crudities, and feels
 “ the Inconveniences of it, Is the Com-
 “ monwealth the worse for it? But the
 “ whole Empire must needs suffer upon
 “ the account of so violent a Persecution,
 “ and so many Troubles. — In effect,
 the want of Royal Vertues in a Prince,
 is a greater defect, than to be desti-
 tute

tute of those which Private Men ought to have.

To return to our History, *Gregory* having been ordained a Priest against his Will, as hath been already said, resolved to retire into the solitary places of *Pontus*, without his Father's leave. His Brother *Cæsarius* being then returned from Court, to live with his Parents, helped him to it. In the mean time, his Father being a very Old Man, and no longer able to bear the burthen of a Bishoprick, obliged him to return, to help him. *Basil* himself endeavoured to persuade him not to deny his Father. He was made a Bishop, to be his Coadjutor, and performed the Episcopal Functions, which his Father was not able to perform. At that time he made the *Oration*, which is the Fifth in order, wherein he addresses himself to his Father and to *Basil*, * and says, that he took the *Long Habit and Miter* at their Sollicitation. 'Tis a hard matter to know whether he pronounced that Complement, or was contented to write it down; but he recited before the People the Forty first *Oration*, which runs upon the same Subject. Not long after, he made the long Apology for his Flight, which is in the beginning of his Works. He sets down at large the Difficulties which attend the
Exercise

* Pag. 136.

Exercise of Episcopacy, and says, that notwithstanding, he was resolved to come, to comply with the Church of *Nazianzum* and his Parents Desires, who equally wished for his return.

Among the Reasons which had deterred him from Episcopacy and Priesthood, he reckons the shameful manner after which many endeavoured to come to it, though they were never so unworthy of it, and and the multitude of Pretenders. * * They * *Orat. i.*

‘ look upon that Dignity (*says he*) not as *P. 5.*
 ‘ an Employment wherein they ought to be
 ‘ Examples of Vertue, but as the means of
 ‘ Maintaining themselves; not as a Ministry, of which they must give an Account; but as a Magistracy, which is liable to no Examination. They are almost more numerous than those whom they govern, &c. And I believe, that the Evil growing worse in time, they’ll have no body to govern, but all will be Teachers, and *Sanctus* himself shall be seen among the Prophets. — He says, * That ignorant * *Pag. 21.*
 Men and Children were brought into the Pulpits; † That Church-men were not better than the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*; || That || *Pag. 30.*
 no Charity was observed in them, but only Anger and Passion; That their Piety did only consist in condemning the Impiety of other Men, whose Conduct they observed, not

not to reclaim them, but to defame them ; That they blamed or praised Men, not because of their good or bad Life, but according to the Party which they had embraced ; That they admired among themselves, what they sharply censured in another Party ; That there was nothing to be seen amongst 'em but Disputes like *Night-Fights*, wherein Friends are not distinguished from Enemies ; That they wrangled about Trifles, on the specious Pretence of defending the Faith : Lastly, That they were abhorred by the Heathens, and despised by good Men among the Christians. This is a true Picture of the Lives of the Ecclesiasticks in his time, as it doth but too plainly appear by the History of that time. It's an unlucky thing, that those of our time are so much like them, that were it not known from whence those Complaints come, one would be apt to look upon them as a Picture of our Modern Divines.

Another Difficulty which attended the Exercise of Episcopacy, consisted in discoursing well of the Mysteries of Christianity, and especially of the * Holy Trinity ; concerning which, according to *Gregory*, a *medium* ought to be kept between the *Jews*, who acknowledge but One God ; and the *Pagans*, who worship Many : A *Medium* which *Sabellius* did not keep by making the same God, considered

sidered under several Relations, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; nor *Arius*, by maintaining that they are of different Natures. As for him, he believed (as we have already seen, and as he repeats it here and in many other places) that he kept that wished for *Medium*, by establishing Three Principles Equal in Perfection, though the Father be the Principle of the Son and Holy Spirit.

It seems that *Gregory* had not been long his Father's Coadjutor, when his Brother *Cæsarius* died. 'Twas not long after the Earthquake which happen'd in *Bitbynia*, in *October*, in the Year 368. He was then at *Nice*, where he exercised the Office of *Orat.* *Quesor*, or the Emperor's Treasurer. That City was almost altogether ruined, and he was the only Officer of *Malens* who saved himself from that Danger. *Gregory* made a Funeral Oration in his Praise, which is the Tenth of those that are extant. He makes a short Description of his Life, the chief Circumstances of which I have related; describes the Vanity of whatever we enjoy here; and makes several Observations upon Death, and the manner of comforting one's self upon the Death of one's Relations. He wishes that his Brother may be in *Abra* *Pag. 168.* *ham's Bosom*, whatever it may be. And towards the End, describing the Happiness of Good Men after Death, he says, that according

according to Wise Men, their Souls are full of Joy, in the Contemplation of their future Happiness, until they are received into the Heavenly Glory after the Resurrection. *Cæsarius* had given his Estate to the Poor at his Death, yet notwithstanding they had much ado to save it; those who were at his death having seized the greatest part of it, as *Gregory* complains in his Eighteenth Letter, whereby he desires *Sophranius* Governor of *Bithynia* to use his Authority in it.

* Vid. *Pagi*
Cris. ad
hunc ann.

Basil, *Gregory's* Friend, having been made Bishop of *Cæsarea*, * in the Year 370, had some difference with *Valens*, which I shall not mention here, because it doth not at all relate to the Life of his Friend. This was perhaps the reason that moved that Emperor to divide *Cappadocia* into Two Provinces, and to make *Tyane* the Metropolis of the Second *Cappadocia*. Forasmuch as the Jurisdiction of the Metropolitans reached as far as the extent of the Province, several Bishops who were before Suffragan of *Cæsarea*, became Suffragan of *Tyane*; so that *Basil* saw himself at the head of a lesser number of Bishops than before. † The new Metropolitan drew to himself the Provincial Assemblies, ceased the Revenues of his Diocese, and omitted nothing to lessen the Authority and Revenues of *Basil*. *Anthimus* (such

† *Orat. xxx.*
p. 456.

(such was the Bishop of *Tyane's* Name) who was an *Arian*, shelter'd himself under the pretence of Piety, and said that he could not give up the Flocks to *Basil's* Instruction, whose Opinions concerning the Son of God were not right, nor suffer that any Tribute should be paid to Hereticks. *Gregory* assures us, that he got some Soldiers to stop *Basil's* Mules, to hinder him from receiving his Rents. *Basil* found no other remedy to it, but to make new Bishops, who should have a greater care of the Flocks than he could have; and by whose means, every Town should carefully receive what was due to them. *Sasime* being one of those Towns in which he was resolved to put some Bishops, he cast his Eyes upon his Friend *Gregory*, to send him to it, without considering that that Place was altogether unworthy of a Person of such Merit: 'Twas a * little Town, without Water and Grass, and full of Dust; a Passage for Soldiers, and inhabited only by some few poor Men. The Income of that Bishoprick was very small; and besides, he must either resolve to defend it by Force against *Anthymus*, or submit to that new Metropolitan. *Gregory* refused that Employment; but at length the Importunity and Dexterity of *Basil*, who wrought upon *Gregory's* Father, obliged him to accept of it.

* *Greg. de Vita sua,*
p. 7.

It

It seems, that about that time he made his *Seventh Oration*, wherein he addresses himself to his Father and *Basil*, and desires their Help and Instruction to govern his new Church at *Sasime*. Notwithstanding, he says freely enough to *Basil*, that the Episcopal *Throne* had made a great Alteration in him, and that he was much milder when he was among the Sheep, than since he was a Pastor.

* Orat. vi.

The next day, he made * another *Oration* on the Arrival of *Gregory Nyssen*, *Basil's* Brother, to whom he further complains of the violence his Brother had done him; and because 'twas a Day of some Martyr's Feast, he adds several things on that occasion, concerning the Manner of Celebrating *Holy days*, not with Profane Rejoycing, but Pious Exercises. He says, amongst other things, "That 'tis then time to raise one's self, and become God (*Θεοποιεῖν*) if one may so say, and that the Martyrs perform therein the Office of *Mediators* (*Μεσιτεύοντες*). — That Expression, to become God, instead of, to become a Good Man, and despise Earthly things, doth often occur in *Gregory's* Writings. He says elsewhere, That the Priests * are Gods, and desire other Men; † That *Solitude* Desires. Introducing ‖ *Basil*, who refused to embrace *Arianism*, he makes him say, " That he

* Orat. i.

p. 31. &

Orat. xxiii.

p. 410.

† Orat. ii.

p. 46.

‖ Orat. xx.

p. 349.

" could

" could not worship a Creature, how who was
 " a Creature of God too, and had received
 " a Commandment of being God —

It ought to be observed, that that Expression was used among the *Pythagoreans*; as may be seen by the last *Golden Verse* of *Pythagoras*, upon which *Hierocles* may be consulted.

When *Gregory* came to *Sasime*, the misery of that Place made him believe that *Basil* despised him, and abused altogether his Friendship. Though he took upon him the Government of it for a little time, yet he exercised no Episcopal Function in it. He did not Pray publicly with the People, nor lay his Hands on any body. Forasmuch as he went thither against his Will, and without engaging himself to stay there, he thought he might leave that Church, and return into the solitary Place out of which they took him, when he came to *Nazianzum*.

He * complained sharply of *Basil's* * *Ep. 31, 32. & de Vita sua, p. 7. & a. libi.* Pride, whom the Episcopal Throne of *Cæsarea* had so blinded, that he had no more any regard to his Friends. Those Com-

plaints, tho' never so just, were look'd upon as a Rebellion, by the Metropolitan; who seemed to have forgot the Esteem he formerly had for *Gregory*, and the Services the latter had done him, in his Promotion to the See of *Cæsarea*. Yet *Gregory* continued to complain

* Greg.
Presb. in
ejus Vita,
p. 14.

plain that he had been shamefully dealt with by his Friend.

Gregory having left *Sasime*, † retired into an Hospital of Sick Men, whom he took care to console; and his Father desired him, in vain, to return to *Sasime*; he could never resolve himself to do it, nor brook the Unkindness of *Basil*, who out of fifty Bishopricks, which were in his Diocess, had given him the least. All that Gregory the Father could obtain from his Son, was, that he should re-assume the care of the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum* during his Life, † without engaging himself to succeed him.

† Ep. xlii. &
Orat. viii.

It seems that at that time, a Commissary of the Emperor, who had been a very good Friend of Gregory, came to Tax the Inhabitants of *Nazianzum*. They fearing he would not Tax them according to Equity, obliged Gregory to make the Discourse which is his Ninth Oration, wherein he exhorts Men of all Conditions to Piety, and addresses himself to *Julian*, who was the Emperor's Commissary, to induce him to lay that Tax like an Honest Man. Yet there happened a Tumult at *Nazianzum*, which exasperated the Imperial Commissary, and gave Gregory occasion to pronounce his Seventeenth Oration, which is upon the same Subject, and wherein he exhorts the People

People to Patience, and the Commissary to Moderation.

'Tis also believed that his Sister *Gorgonia*, who married a Man of Quality, whose Name was *Vitalian*, died about this time. *Gregory* made her *Funeral Oration*, which is the Eleventh in order. I shall not mention the Praises he bestows upon her, upon the account of her Piety, and wise Conduct. I shall only observe these Two things:

1st. That *Gorgonia* * was Baptised with her Husband but a little while before she died, according to the Custom of that time. Her Brother did so much esteem her Piety, that he doth not stick to say, that there is scarce any body else to whom Baptism was *rather a Seal than a Grace*; that is to say, rather a Confirmation of the Vertue she had before, than the Infusion of new Holiness.

2. At the end of his *Oration*, having said, in his Address to her by a Rhetorical Figure, very frequent in our Author, *that she enjoys the Contemplation of the Heavenly Glory*, he goeth on thus; *If you have any regard to us, and if God hath given to Holy Souls the Privilege of perceiving such things, receive our Oration rather than Funeral Gifts.* It appears from thence, that he doubted whether the Souls of Dead Men know what's done here. One may also observe, that the word which I have rendred *Privi-*

Q

lege,

* Orat. xl.
p. 188.

* Γέρας
Hef. Opera
& Dies
vers. 125.

lege, * is the same which *Hesiod* uses, when he says that *Jupiter* hath given to Kings the Advantage of being after their death the Guardians of Men.

In the Year 371, *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* being dead, *Gregory* † made his † *Orat. xxi.* *Funeral Oration*, some Years after, || being || *V. p. 376.* at *Constantinople*. I shall say something of it, when I come to that part of *Gregory's* Life.

In the Year 374, *Gregory* made another *Funeral Oration*, in Praise of his Father, which is the Nineteenth in order. He says that he died, being almost a Hundred Years old, having been a Bishop Five and forty Years. His Son makes his *Panegyrick* at large, by giving an Abridgment of his Life; and endeavours to console his Mother *Nenna*, whom he also praises very much. He addresses himself to his Father,

* *Orat. xix.* * whom he desires to let him know what
p. 314. " Glory he was in, and to govern both
" the Flocks and Pastors, of which he was
" named the Father, and especially his
" Son. — Here he uses no word which
may excuse so violent a Figure as that *Πρα-
σασια* is; and had he not used elsewhere
some softening words in the like occasions,
it would perhaps be a difficult thing to di-
stinguish that *Apastrophe* from a true Invo-
cation.

His

His Mother *Nemna*, who was almost as
 * old as her Husband, died soon after; and * *Pag. 319*
 it was not necessary that *Gregory* should
 make any Discourse to her Praise, because
 he had already made her Panegyrick, in the
Funeral Oration of his Father. After the
 death of the latter, they would oblige him
 to take upon him the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum*;
 and 'twas pretended that he had
 engaged himself to keep it, when he began
 to take care of it. But † he excused him- † *Ep. xliii*
 self, because of his Old Age; and the Bi-
 shops of the Province named *Eulalius* to
 succeed his Father; and because 'twas re-
 ported that that Election was made against
Gregory's Will, he wrote to *Gregory Nyssen*,
 to let him know that there was nothing
 done in it but at his desire.

Forasmuch as things were not presently
 brought to that issue, and *Gregory* || was || *Carmen*
 afraid that he should be forced to stay at *Nazianzum*, he retired to *Selencia* in a Mo- *de Vit. p. 91*
 nastery, where he staid long enough, till
 the Church of *Nazianzum* should be pro-
 vided. However, he returned to that
 Town before the Election was made; and
 he was again urged to take his old station,
 but he would never do it. The Author of
 his Life assures, that *Basil* built at this time
 an Hospital for those that were sick of the
 Leprosie, and that *Gregory* made on that
 Q 2 occasion

* 'Tis the
Sixteenth
Oration.

occasion his * Discourse concerning *Charity* towards the Poor, especially towards those that are sick of the *Leprosie*. That Oration contains several Reflexions concerning Piety in general, and the use of the Good things and Evils of this Life. *Gregory* doth seldom confine himself to one Subject only, and observe an Order clear and free from Digressions.

† *Carmen*
de Vita sua,
p. 10.

During the Empire of *Valens*, who favoured the *Arians*, that Sect, and those that sprung out of it, did very much encrease. † *Constantinople* especially was full of *Arians* and *Apollinarists*, who believed that the Divinity of Christ was instead of a Soul to his Body. Whereupon several Bishops, and many amongst the People, who followed the Council of *Nice*, obliged *Gregory* to go to *Constantinople*, to confirm the Orthodox, and oppose the Hereticks. He says that he undertook that Journey against his will, especially because 'twas reported that there was to be a Synod made up of *Apollinarists*, to establish their Opinion.

|| *Orat.* 28.
p. 484.

Being arrived at *Constantinople*, † towards the end of the Year 378, he lodged at a Kinsman's of his, whom some Authors conjecture to have been *Nicobulus*, who had marry'd *Alypiane* Daughter of *Gorgonia*, *Gregory's* Sister. *Valens* had given to the
Arians

Arians all the Churches of *Constantinople*, so that *Gregory* was obliged to Preach at his Kinsman's House. There was soon after so great a concourse of People, that that House having no Chamber that might hold them, the Owner of it pull'd it down to make a Church of it. * It was named *Anastasis*, that is, the Church of the *Resurrection*; because the Orthodox Faith had been, as it were, raised in that Place. Then the *Arians* stirred up almost the whole City against him, by accusing him of believing *Three Gods*. He ascribes the Zeal of the People against him, to their ignorance of the manner how to reconcile the Trinity with the Unity of God. It was not altogether the People's fault; because *Gregory* himself speaks of it so as to make one believe that he introduced what we should call *Three Gods*, according to the common way of speaking; though, according to his manner of defining the Unity, it must be said he believed but One. He complains, that they threw † Stones at him, upon that account, and that he was summoned before the Judges as a Seditious Person.

* *Orat.* 32.
p. 527.

† *Carm.*
de Vita,
p. 10, 11.

All that helped to make him more Famous, and encrease the number of his Admirers. 'Twas then that *St. Jerom* heard him, as he said in || several places. I have quoted elsewhere a Passage out of that Father,

|| *Ep. ad Nepot.* *Catal.*
Script. Eccl.
cles. cont.
Jovinian,
lib. 1.

Father, wherein he gives but an ill Character of Gregory's Eloquence, whom he describes as a Declamator, and whom the People applauded, without understanding what he said.

The number of the Orthodox encreasing every day, they desired to have a Bishop of their Opinion, and generally cast their Eyes upon Gregory. The Eastern Orthodox Bishops, especially Meletius of Antioch, Basil of Cesarea, and Peter of Alexandria, did openly favour him. Yet they succeeded not in their Design.

* *Carm. de
Vita sua,
p. 12.*

There was at Alexandria* one Maximus, a Profest Cynick, and yet a Christian. He pretended to be descended from a Noble Family, and in which there had been some Martyrs. After the Death of Athanasius, the Orthodox having been persecuted in Egypt, he had been banished into a Village of the Wilderness of Thebais, named Oasis. He went drest like the Philosophers, that is, with a ragged Cloak on his Back; he never cut his Hair, nor shaved his Beard, and went with a Stick, as Diogenes. Thus living a very austere life, he took upon himself to censure every body's Vices, without any regard to any one's Quality, as the Ancient Cynicks did. Yet under that severe Out-side, and mortified Countenance, there lay a Soul Deceitful, Ambitious, Malicious, Coverous, and full of the most shameful Passions.

Passions. But because those things appeared not to the Eyes of Men, he got a great Reputation, not only among the People, but also among the most learned Men. He kept Correspondence with the Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, Gregory's Friend, * as it appears from two Letters of *Basil*, which are directed to him. * *Basil.* Ep. 41. & 42.

Gregory received him so well, at his arrival at *Constantinople*, that he made an Oration in his Praise, † wherein he omits nothing that might contribute to make that Impostor be look'd upon as a Great and Good Man. But having since found out his Cheat, † instead of the Name *Maximus*, † *Hieron.* in *Cat.* in *Greg.* that of *Heron*, and entitl'd it thus; An Oration in the Praise of *Heron* a Philosopher of *Alexandria*, sent into Exile because of the Faith, and returned three Years after. Gregory shews, in that Discourse, what use might be made of the *Cynick Philosophy*, in the Christian Religion; and mentions the Persecutions which the Princes who favour'd *Arianism* had exercised against the Orthodox, especially in *Egypt*, and against the Philosopher *Maximus*. He concludes with explaining the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, and exhorting his Philosopher constantly to persevere in the Sound Doctrine, which kept a medium between *Judaism* and

† *P. 425*, and * *Arianism*. He often makes that Observation, when he mentions the Holy Trinity; and one may observe in general, by reading his Works, that the same Thoughts do frequently occur. He advises his Philosopher to despise the Objections that are raised against that Doctrine, and bids him not be ashamed of the Charge of *Tritheism*, whilst others (the *Arians* and *Macedonians*) run the hazard of establishing Two Gods; for (says he) either you'll resolve the Difficulty as they do, or you will not be able to resolve it no more than they, &c.

Gregory having thus made the Panegyrick of *Maximus*, received him at his House, Instructed, Baptized and Ordained him, and imparted to him his most secret Thoughts. † But as soon as *Maximus* thought himself Learned enough, he saw with grief that they designed to make *Gregory* Bishop of *Constantinople*. He thought he deserved that Station better than his Master and Benefactor; and perceiving that one of the Chief Priests of that Church envied also *Gregory* that Dignity, he joined with him to cross him. In order to it, *Maximus* got on his side *Peter* of *Alexandria*, who before favoured *Gregory*. Some time after, the *Corn Fleet*, which came every year from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*,

† *Carm. de Vita sua*, p. 12, &c.

people, arrived there ; and the Masters of the Ships *Flammon*, *Aphanmon*, *Harpocras*, *Steppas*, *Rhodon*, *Anubis* and *Hermanubis*, joined presently with Gregory's Assembly, though they had Orders to favour the Design of *Maximus*, whom two or three *Egyptian* Bishops designed to uphold more vigorously afterwards. In the mean time, the arrival of the *Egyptians*, and the care they took to join with Gregory, rejoiced him so much, that he made * an *Oration** *Orat. 24.* thereupon, wherein he doth very much extoll the Piety and Constancy of those of *Alexandria*, and explains to them his Opinion concerning the Equality of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: He doth especially enlarge to prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit ; and among other Reasons, he uses this Argument, the Terms whereof would seem strange, had I not already observed the like before : † *If the Holy Spirit is not* † *Pag. 429.* *God, let him be made God first, and then let him make me God equal to him in Honour.* The meaning of that harsh Expression seems only to be this, viz. that if the Holy Spirit is not God, he cannot sanctifie Men, which Gregory styles elsewhere, *to make Men Gods.*

Some learned Men conjecture that about the same time Gregory made the Panegyrick of St. *Atbanasius*, which is his One and twentieth *Oration*. He displays in it not only the

the Vertues of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, but also relates at large the Persecutions he suffered, and the Troubles that happen'd during his life. He praises him especially for his Orthodoxy and Constancy in the defence of the Truth: 'All those (says *he) who profess our Doctrine, were divided into Three Parties. Some did not think well of the Son, and worse yet of the Holy Spirit: Those who had a sound Belief in those two Points, were very few: He was the first and only Man who durst openly publish the Truth, or at least he was seconded by very few People. —

† Pag. 395. Gregory gives also St. *Athanasius* † the Glory of having brought to an Agreement the Eastern and Western Churches, which disputing only about Words, yet look'd upon one another as Hereticks: 'We said, agreeably to the Doctrine of Godliness, that there is One Essence, and Three Existences (*Hypostases*;) the former relating to the Nature of the Deity; and the second, to the Properties of the Three. The Bishops of *Italy* apprehended it so; but because of the scantiness of their Tongue, they could not distinguish the *Hypostasis* from the Essence, (because the *Latin* Churches render'd the word *Hypostasis* Substance;) and they introduced the word *Person*, lest it should seem they acknowledge Three Essences.

|| Hieron. in
Ep. ad Da-
mas. T. 2.
p. 13. Ed.
Gryph.

'sences. What followed from it? Some-
 'thing ridiculous, or rather, that deserves
 'Pity. A meer Dispute about Words, was
 'look'd upon as a Dispute concerning the
 'Faith. Those who said that there are
 'Three Persons, were suspected (*in the East*)
 'of *Sabellianism*; and those who mention'd
 'Three *Hypostases*, were suspected (*in the*
 '*West*) of *Arianism*. Such was the effect
 'of these Disputes, &c.) St. *Athanasius*
 'remedied it, by mildly conversing with
 'every Party, and carefully examining the
 'sences of the words which they used; and
 'as soon as he perceiv'd that the Eastern
 'and Western Bishops were of the same
 'Opinion as to the thing, and differed only
 'in Expressions; he allowed the use of dif-
 'ferent Terms, and re-united them as to
 'the Substance of the Doctrine.

To return * to *Maximus*, his Party grew
 stronger, by the arrival of his Country-
 men, in the Year 379; and the better to
 engage the Bishops of that Country to serve
 him, he sent to them considerable Presents.
 Wherefore, he borrowed some Money of a
 Priest who was lately come from *Thassus*,
 an Island of the *Archipelago*, with Orders
 to buy at *Constantinople* some Marble, and
 other Materials for a Church, which they
 design'd to build in that Island. Not long
 after that, *Gregory* being indispos'd, went
 out

* *Carm. de*
Vit. p. 14,
&c.

out of *Constantinople*, to take the Air, and so gave occasion to the Bishops to go very early to his Church, and to place *Maximus* upon the Episcopal See. They could not make an end of the Ceremony of that *Cynicks* Ordination, before it was noised about in the City. Whereupon the Magistrates of *Constantinople*, the Clergy, and the People, without excepting the *Arians* themselves, went in a Crowd to the *Anastasius*, and turned those Bishops out of the Church. They retired into a Play-house that was hard by, where they cut his Hair, and Consecrated him. Which did but exasperate the People, who gave *Maximus* all sort of ill Language, and blamed *Gregory* for having too kindly received that wicked Man into his House.

Gregory having notice of what past, returned presently to *Constantinople*, and made that *Oration*, which is the Twenty-eighth in order; wherein he says, that he was gone out of Town with some repugnancy, and that the little time he had been absent, had but encreased his Love for his Flock. He doth again shew the Perfidiousness of *Maximus*, and those of his Party; to which he adds a Description of a true Christian Philosopher. He excuses himself for his having been deceived by *Maximus*; because Good Men being not Suspicious, he could

could not suspect that that Philosopher would deceive him. Lastly, He says, that he is ready to leave the Episcopal See, and that he never desired it. He mixes several general Reflexions in that Discourse, and seems to prepare himself to Patience, by the Consideration of the Miseries of this Life. It appears that he was an Old Man, because he says that *Maximus* * would per- * *Pag. 483.*
haps *upbraid him with his Old Age, and want of Health*; which is contrary to the Opinion of those who believe that *Gregory* was born about the time of the Council of *Nice*.

Indeed, *Gregory's* Return got him the People on his side, and obliged *Maximus* to leave the City, but not to give over his Design. It seems that he wrote to the † Bishops of the *Italick Diocess*, met in a † *Ep. Ambrosius*
Synod at *Aquileia*, to whom he imparted *brof. & Epp. Italia ad*
the News of his Election, which had been *Theod. Imp. Conc. T. 2.*
approved by the Communicatory Letters *col. 1007.*
of *Peter* of *Alexandria*, which he sent to them, to be read in their Council. He confesses he had been Ordained in a Private House; but he said it was because the *Arians* had seized all the Churches, and that he was forced to give way to their Violence. The Council, who knew not the Circumstances, approved his Ordination, thinking that *Gregory's* Promotion was not according
to

to the Canons; because a Bishop was not allowed to leave one Church, and settle himself in another. Their Approbation of *Maximus's* Ordination was also the reason why they refused since to Communicate with *Nestarius* his Successor, and wrote to the Emperor to desire him to have an eye to it, and to restore *Maximus*; or to call a General Council at *Rome*, to examine that Business. *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* disapproved also *Gregory's* Election, who, according to the Canons, should have stay'd at *Sasine*, since it was not lawful for a Bishop * to leave the People committed to his Charge, to remove to another out of Ambition, which breeds Quarrels and Schisms. Thus he speaks of it in a Letter written to some Bishops of *Egypt*, wherein he also blames *Maximus's* Election, as being contrary to the Canons. He wrote † further to *Achilius* Bishop of *Thessalonica* against the same, and exhorted him to endeavour to get a Catholick Bishop established at *Constantinople*. It appears from thence, that *Gregory's* leaving *Sasine*, had offended several People; and perhaps he was somewhat too Nice, for one who was so little addicted to the World, as he himself says he was. Besides, his resolving to go to *Constantinople*, after he had despised *Sasine*, was a thing that might raise Suspensions in the Mind of

* In Col-
lect. Rom.
Holsten.
P. 37.

† Ibid.
P. 43.

ill-affected Persons. 'Tis not to be doubted but *Maximus* did maliciously make use of all that, to ruine *Gregory's* Reputation; and this perhaps emboldened him to go to *Thessalonica*, to desire *Theodosius* to restore him by an Edict. But he was so far from obtaining what he desired, that the Emperor ordered him with Threatnings to give over his Pursuits. Being enraged at his having missed his aim, he went to *Alexandria*; where having drawn some People to his Party, he threatned *Peter* Bishop of that City to deprive him of his Place, if he did not help him to invade the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. The Governor of *Alexandria* having had notice of this Insolence, and being afraid that the *Cynick* would cause some Disturbance, banish'd him out of the City; and History doth not tell us what became of him afterwards.

Gregory being thus got rid of *Maximus*, was now expos'd to the *Arian* Faction, which endeavoured to cry him down, by ridiculing his Countrey and Relations. Besides, they accused him of ill Humour, Carelessness, and other like Defects. But because those Reproaches were either ill grounded, or inconsiderable, he easily justified himself, as may be seen in his *Twenty-fifth Oration*. That which did him the greatest Prejudice, is, that though he was
a great

great Orator, according to the manner of the Age he lived in, yet he was not really fit to do a thousand other things necessary to maintain himself against the *Arians*. He should have made his Interest at Court, and got the Favour of the Grandee's, to promote the Interest of his Church: But this he was not capable of, having spent the greatest part of his Life in Study and Quiet. Hence it is that that Priest, who had favoured *Maximus* (as I have said) drew several Catholicks to himself, who began to say that *Gregory* was not capable of well performing the Episcopal Duties; which required no less Experience and Skill in Affairs, than Eloquence and Learning.

Gregory was so weary of the Complaints and Crosses of those Men, that one day * he undertook to take his leave of his People. But he had no sooner said that he would go, than that the whole Assembly did so earnestly desire him not to leave them, and not to suffer the Orthodox Doctrine to perish by the *Arians* Endeavours, after his departure; that at last he was persuaded to stay till the Eastern Bishops, who were to meet shortly, as 'twas reported, would chuse another to fill up the Episcopal See of *Constantinople*.

Such was the state of Affairs, until the arrival of *Theodosius* at *Constantinople*, the

22d. of

* *De Vita sua*, p. 17, 18.

22d. of ** November*, 380. That Emperor ** Vid. Pagi*
 had been lately Baptized at *Thessalonica*, by *ad hunc*
Acbolius an Orthodox Bishop, who had in- *Ann. n. 7.*
 spired him with the Design of restoring the
Nicene Faith. He had already ordered, be-
 ing at *Thessalonica*, † by an Edict bearing date † *C. Th.*
 the 27th. of *February*, That all his Subjects *l. 16. T. 1.*
 should have such a Belief concerning the *c. 2.*
 Holy Trinity, as they had at *Rome* and
Alexandria; That those who would profess
 it, should be called *Catholicks*, and the
 others *Hereticks*; That the Assemblies of
 the latter should not be called Churches;
 and, That they should be liable to Civil
 Punishments, as well as to the Divine Ven-
 geance. Being at *Constantinople*, and having
 observed the great multitude of Heterodox,
 of which that City was full, he published
 yet a more severe Edict || the 10th. of *Ibid. T. 5.*
January, in the Year 381, whereby he *l. 6.*
 annuls all those which might have allowed
 the Hereticks some liberty, and takes from
 them all the Churches they had in the
 Towns, ordering them to restore 'em to
 those who followed the *Nicene Faith*. Af-
 terwads he sent word * to *Demophilus*, an ** Socrat.*
Arian Bishop, to subscribe to the Council *l. 5. c. 7.*
 of *Nice*, or to resolve to leave the Churches *Sozom. l. 7.*
 of *Constantinople*. *Demophilus* did the latter *c. 5.*
 without any Hesitation, and told the People
 that the next day they should meet out of

agreed

R

the

* *De Vita*
sua, p. 20,
&c.

the City. Thus the *Arians* were deprived of the Publick Churches, which they had kept Forty Years. * Notwithstanding, *Theodosius* was accused of want of Zeal, and they would have him use Violence, to reduce the *Arians*, (as *Gregory* says;) though he doth not approve the Heat of those who found fault with *Theodosius's* Conduct upon that account, and declares himself against those who pretend to force the Conscience.

The Emperor having sent for *Gregory*, received him very kindly, and told him he was going to put him in possession of the Cathedral of *Constantinople*. Lest the People, the greatest part whereof followed the Opinions of *Arius*, should rise up, *Theodosius* sent some Soldiers to seize the Church of the *Apostles*; and sent *Gregory* to it, attended with some others, through the midst of the People, who cried on every side, and were as much afflicted as if *Constantinople* had been taken; which could not be a pleasant Spectacle to a wise and moderate Bishop. Though the Sun was up, it was so clouded, that one would have thought it was Night; but the Sun shone all of a sudden, when *Gregory* came to Church. That Circumstance should not deserve to be taken notice of, were it not that our Bishop relates it as an extraordinary thing;

thing; having said, " * That though he
 " is one of those who are most opposite
 " to such Thoughts; yet he believes 'tis
 " better to believe all things, than to re-
 " fuse to believe what is said. — As
 soon as they came to Church, all the People
 that were in it, cried out, they would have
 Gregory to be their Bishop. He silenced
 them, getting a Priest to tell them, that
 they ought not to cry, but to give Thanks
 to God. As for the rest, he was threatned
 with no danger, except that one Man only
 drew his Sword, which he presently put up
 into its Scabbard.

* *Carm. de
 Vita sua*
 p. 22.

But though the *Arians* had yielded their
 Churches, yet they murmured about it
 among themselves, and were angry because
 they had been turned out. Gregory believed,
 with great reason, that the Heterodox might
 be wrought upon by Mildness, which he
 more willingly used than the Emperor's
 Authority. He complains, " That a Com-
 " pany of wretched Young Men call'd
 " Mildness Cowards, gave to Fury the
 " name of Courage, and would have the
 " *Arians* to be exasperated and inflamed
 " with Anger.

The Moderation of Gregory was not un-
 pleasant to *Theodosius*, who sometimes sent
 for him, † and made him eat at his Table. †
 Notwithstanding, our Bishop went seldom

† *Carm. 10.
 T. 2. p. 80.*

* *Carm. de*
Vita sua,
 p. 23.

to Court, * though the others were constantly there, to be in the Emperor's or his Officers Favour; and made use of Piety, as a pretence to raise themselves, and ruine their Enemies. Forasmuch as he was Old, and of a Weak Constitution, he was often indisposed; which his Enemies ascribed to too great a Delicacy. As he was once in his Bed, they sent a Man to kill him; who moved with repentance, confest to him, at the feet of his Bed, that they had incited him to commit that Crime; the Pardon of which he presently obtained.

As for the Revenues of the Church, *Gregory* says, that having not been able to find any Account of them, neither among the Papers of those who had been Bishops of *Constantinople* before him, nor among those to whom the care of gathering them was committed; he would not meddle with them, and took nothing out of them, to avoid giving an account of them.

Theodosius called at that time a Council at *Constantinople*, either to condemn several Heresies, or to settle *Gregory* Canonically in the Episcopal See of that City. But before I relate what past with respect to *Gregory*, it will not be amiss to say something of the *Orations* he made whilst he was at *Constantinople*, and which are extant.

Basil

Basil Bishop of *Cæsarea* * being dead * Vid. *Pag.*
on the First Day of the Year 380, *Gregory* ad *An.* 378.
made an † *Oration* in his Praise some time † *Orat.* 20.
after; having not been able to pay that
last Duty to his Friend as soon as he could
have wished. He praises *Basil's* Ancestors,
who were Persons of Quality, and besides,
Christians for a long time. He says, that || *Pag.* 319.
|| during *Maximin's* Persecution, some of
Basil's Ancestors having retired into a Forest
of *Pontus*, without any Provision, and
without Arms to go a Hunting, they prayed
to God that he would send them some of
the Fowls, or a little of the Venison, which
they saw in that Wood; and God presently
sent 'em a great number of the fattest Stags,
who seemed to be grieved because they
had not called them sooner. *Gregory* de-
lights in that Subject, according to the
Custom of the Pagan Orators, who did
the same with respect to the Fables of
Paganism: The worst of all, is, that it
makes one suspect the other Relations of
Gregory.

2. Afterwards, he gives a short Account
of *Basil's* Life, and insists upon every Parti-
cular, according to his custom, with a
great deal of Exaggeration, many Figures,
and Moral Observations. Speaking of the
manner after which he himself had spent
his Life, he says, that he wishes * *his Affairs* * *Pag.* 335.

may better prosper hereafter, by the Intercessions of Basil.

* Pag. ib.

3. The manner of getting * Church-Preferments in his time, was not more Canonical than the Means which are now-a-days made use of for the same end, if we believe Gregory.

Having said, that in other Professions Men raised themselves only by degrees, and according to their Capacity, he assures, ' That the Chief Dignity was got as much ' by Crimes as by Vertue; and that Epif- ' copal Sees were not for those who deserved ' them best, but for the most Powerful, &c. ' No body takes the Name of a Physician, ' or a Painter, before he hath studied the ' Nature of Diseases, well mixed his Colours, ' and made several Pictures; but a Bishop ' may be easily found, not after he hath ' been carefully formed, but upon the spot, ' as the Fable feigneth, That the Giants ' were no sooner sowed, but they sprung ' out of the Earth. We make † SAINTS ' in one day, and we exhort to Wisdom ' those who have not learn'd to be Wise, and ' who have brought nothing to perform ' well the Episcopal Duties, but the Desire ' of being Bishops.

† The Bi-
shops were
then called
Saints, as
now-a-
days Lords.

|| Pag. 340,
& 358.

4. Gregory ascribes to Basil || some Mo-
nastical Laws, and written Prayers. We
have the former still, without any great
altera-

alteration ; but the *Liturgy* which bears his Name hath been very much alter'd since.

5. He not only praises his Friend, but also makes his Apology against those who accused him of Pride, (of which notwithstanding he himself accuses him in several places,) * and suspected he did not believe * *Pag. 364.* the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, because he had not stiled him *God*, in his Book. *Gregory* says that *Basil* did so, for fear of exasperating the Hereticks, who could not abide that that Title should be bestowed upon the Holy Spirit, because the Scripture doth not ascribe it to him ; but that he had said something equivalent to it, which was the same thing ; since Words do not save us, but Things.

6. Lastly, Having described *Basil's* Funeral, he goes on thus ; † He is now in † *Pag. 372.* Heaven, where he offers, as I think, Sacrifices for us, and prayeth for the People ; for when he left us, he did not altogether forsake us, &c. He advises me still, and chides me in Night-Visions, when I depart in something from my Duty. — At the end of his *Oration*, he addresses himself to him, and asks his Help in energick terms, as if he heard him ; though he seemed to doubt whether he was in *Heaven*, that is, in the Place of greatest Bliss ; into

which the Antients believed nobody went, except Martyrs, but after the Resurrection, (as we have already seen by another Passage of Gregory.)

There is some likelihood that he composed at Constantinople most of the other *Oration*s which are extant, which I have not mention'd yet, especially those which he made against the *Arians*; wherein he hath been thought to have so well defended the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, as well as in his other Writings, that for that reason they have given him the Title of *Theologue*. One may read especially his *Thirty third Oration*, and the Four following, upon that Subject. In order to give an *Idea* of those *Five Oration*s, I shall observe, that the Design of the First, is to shew, that it doth not belong to All to dispute about Religion, and that it ought not to be done before every body, neither at all times, nor with too great a heat. He censures the Hereticks, as if they had no regard to any of those things, and preaches some common places which all Parties have always equally made use of. He complains,

* Orat. 33.
p. 535.

* That they make Saints the very same day they go about it; That they chuse Divines, as if they had inspired them with Learning; and, That they make a great many Assemblies of Ignoramus's and Babblers.

Forasmuch

Forasmuch as he knew that some Men can't
 forbear Disputing, he tells 'em, to satisfy
 their Desire, that he will give them a large
 Field, in which they may exercise them-
 selves without danger : * Philosophize * *Ib. p. 536.*

*(says he) about the World or Worlds,
 the Soul, Rational Creatures less or more
 Excellent, about the Resurrection, the
 Judgments, the Rewards, the Sufferings
 of Christ. 'Tis not an useless thing to
 succeed in those Matters, as there is no
 great danger in being mistaken about
 them. — Christians have been since of
 a very different Opinion; and 'tis certain,
 that one may fall into dangerous Errors,
 and that there hath been real Mistakes about
 those Articles: *very weakly and obscurely*

In the † Second Oration, he comes to † *Orat. 34.*
 the Matter in hand, and doth chiefly en-
 large to prove against the *Eunomians* the
 Incomprehensibility of God, which he doth
 often. He shews, that there is an infinite
 number of things in Nature, which we do
 not comprehend, to conclude from thence,
 that 'tis no good Reasoning, to deny that
 something is in God, only because we do
 not comprehend it. *might have said*

Having thus prepared the Mind of his
 Reader, or Hearer, he proposes his Opinion
 concerning the Divinity of the Son, || and || *Orat. 35.*
 the Holy Trinity in general, which he doth *p. 562.*

in

in these remarkable terms : ' That which
 ' we worship is a Monarchy. I don't call
 ' Monarchy, what is posselt by one Person
 ' only, (for it may happen, that a Person
 ' not agreeing with himself, produces the
 ' same effect as if there were many,) but
 ' what is groundd upon the Equality of
 ' Nature, the Consent of the Will, the same
 ' Motion, and the same Design, with respect
 ' to the things which that Monarchy pro-
 ' duces, (which is not possible in Created
 ' Natures;) so that although those that
 ' compose that Monarchy differ in *Number*;
 ' yet they differ not in Power. — Had
 Gregory believed the *Numerical* Unity of
 the Divine Essence, he would have spoken
 very weakly and obscurely; since instead
 of the *Equality of the Nature*, he should
 should have said the *Identity*, and not men-
 tion'd the *Consent of Will*, but *One only Will*
in Number. In that Oration, Gregory an-
 swers the Objections which the *Arians* rais'd
 against the Eternal Generation of the Son,
 which are often very weak, either because
 they are not well propounded, or because
 the *Arians* argued not better. However,
 as one might Personate an *Arian* better;
 so so one might perhaps maintain with
 greater advantage the Sentiments of the
 Council of *Nice*.
 Among

Among the *Arian* Objections which Gregory proposes to himself, this is one of them, which is the Eighth; viz. * *That if the* * *Pag. 569.*
Son is, as to the Essence, altogether as the Father is; it will follow, that the Son is not Begotten, as the Father is not. —

Gregory answers not, as the *School-men* do, That the Son is not Begotten, as to the Essence, which is the same in Number with the Fathers, as he should have said according to the Principles of the Modern Schools; but that *not to be Begotten*, is not a thing Essential to the Deity. To which he adds;
 'Are you the Father of your Father, that
 'you may not be inferiour to him in any
 'thing; because you are the same thing as
 'to the Essence? — If any one should doubt still, whether the *Unity* which our Orator speaks of, is a *Specifick* or a *Numerical* one, he needs only read these words, which are at the bottom of the following Page; † This is our Doctrine. As we judge † *Pag. 570.*
 'alike of things which are under the same
 'Species, as a Horse, an Oxe, and a Man,
 'and every thing is properly called by the
 'Name which suits the Nature of which it
 'partakes, whereas that which doth not partake of it, doth not go by that Name, or
 'hath it but improperly: so there is but
 'One Essence and Nature in God, which
 'hath the same Name; though the Per-
 'sons

sons and Names are distinguished by the Thoughts.

* Orat. 36. In the Fourth Oration, Gregory resolves, according to his way, the Objections of the *Arians*, by which they pretend to shew the Unequality of the Father and the Son.

† Orat. 37. In the Fifth, he disputes about the Consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit, against the *Macedonians*.

Some of those who believed the Divinity of the Son, denied that of the Holy Spirit, and were even so bold, as to call the Holy Spirit a *Strange God*; because he is styled *God* no where in the Holy Scripture. Gregory made his Fifth and last Theological Oration against them.

|| Orat. ib. P. 595. In that Discourse, speaking of the several Opinions that have been about that, he says, amongst other things, || That the greatest Theologers among the Pagans, and those who came nearest to us, have an Idea of Him; though they gave him another Name, having called him, *The Soul of the World*, and, *The Soul which comes from without*; and used some other such Names. As for the Wise Men of our times, some believe that the Holy Spirit is a Faculty; some, that he is a Creature; some, that he is a God; and some know not in what Order of Things they should place him; by reason of the respect they have

‘ have for the Scripture, which is not clear
 ‘ upon that Point. — Gregory maintains,
 That ‘tis a Person *Consubstantial* with the
 Two other : And when he answers his Ad-
 versaries, who ask’d him wherein the *Gene-
 ration* and *Procession* differed, he hath re-
 course to the *Incomprehensibility*.

But one of the chief Objections against
 the *Orthodox*, was, * That they acknow- * *Pag. 600.*
 ledged Three Gods. *If there is* (said their
 Adversaries) *a God, and a God, and a God ;*
how comes it that there are not Three
Gods ? &c. ‘ This is (replies Gregory)
 ‘ what is said by those whose Impiety is
 ‘ come to its height, and even by those
 ‘ who are in the Second rank, that is, who
 ‘ have a right Belief concerning the Son.
 ‘ I have a common Answer to both, and
 ‘ another which concerns only the latter :
 ‘ I ask therefore the latter, why they call
 ‘ us *Tritheists*, since they honour the Son ;
 ‘ and whether, though they leave out the
 ‘ Holy Spirit, they are not *Distheists* ? How
 ‘ d’ye explain your *Distheism*, when they
 ‘ offer you this Objection ? Teach us how
 ‘ we ought to answer ; for the Answer by
 ‘ which you will clear your selves from
 ‘ *Distheism*, will serve us to vindicate our
 ‘ selves from *Tritheism*, &c. Thus we
 ‘ shall get the Victory, and our Accusers
 ‘ will be our Defenders, &c. But we have

' a Dispute with those two sorts of Adver-
 ' saries, and a common Answer to both.
 ' We have but One God, because there is
 ' but One Godhead ; and that those who
 ' emaned from it, refer to One only thing,
 ' though we believe Three of them. The
 ' one is not more God than the other ;
 ' the one is not Anterior, and the other
 ' Posterior. They are not divided in Will,
 ' nor separate in Power, and there is no-
 ' thing in them that is found in things di-
 ' vided ; but to say all in a word, the God-
 ' head is without Division in Three Di-
 ' vided Persons ; as in Three Suns fastened
 ' one to another, there would be but One
 ' Mixture of Light. When we consider
 ' the Deity, and the First Cause of the
 ' Monarchy, we conceive but One Thing ;
 ' but when we consider those in whom the
 ' Deity, and those who emaned from the
 ' First Cause before Time was, and enjoy
 ' the same Glory, we worship Three.

' But it will be said, *Is there not One only*
 ' *Deity among the Pagans, as their most*
 ' *learned Philosophers say ? All Mankind*
 ' *bath but One Humanity, and yet there are*
 ' *Many Gods among the Pagans, not One only,*
 ' *as there are Many Men.* I answer, That
 ' in those things the Unity lies only in the
 ' Thought. Every Man is divided from
 ' others, by Time, Passions, and Power,
 ' which

• which is not in God. Therein doth the
• **UNITY** of God consist, as far as I can con-
• ceive it. If that Reason be Good, let God
• be thanked for it; if not, we must look
• for a Better.

Afterwards Gregory proposes to himself
an *Arian* Objection, which shews more
clearly still, that the *Orthodox* placed not
the **Unity** of God in the *Numerical Unity*
of the *Divine Essence*, but in a *Specifick*
Unity of *Distinct and Equal Essences*, and
in a perfect Agreement of Wills. * *Things* * Pag. 602.

which are of the same Essence (say ye) are
ranked in the same Order of Things; — and
those which are not *Consubstantial*, are not so
ranked. From whence it follows, that you
cannot but confess, that there are *Three Gods*,
according to your reckoning: For as for us,
we are not in the same danger, because we do
not say that the *Persons* are *Consustantial*. —

The *Arians* meant, That forasmuch as they
admitted but of *One Supreme God*, and
who hath created all other things, they
might say, in that respect, that there is but
One God; because that God could not be
ranked in the same Order, and under the
same Name with his *Creatures*: but that
the *Orthodox* acknowledging *Three Beings*
of a perfectly like Nature, they could not
deny that they acknowledged *Three Gods*,
properly speaking. Gregory answers only,

That

That Things which are not of the same Species, are often reckoned in the same Rank: (*Συνεθροισμένοι*), of which he gives several Instances out of the Scripture. That shews, that the *Arians* might be accused of admitting of Many Gods, as well as the *Orthodox*; not that the *Orthodox* acknowledged not Three Eternal Minds, though perfectly Equal, and having the same Will.

* Pag. 611. A little lower, in the same Oration, * *Gregory* says, That having sought among Created Things something like the Holy Trinity, he could find no satisfactory Comparison: He thought of an *Eye*, a *Fountain*, and a *River*, but he found not those things proper enough to express his Thoughts. 'I was afraid (*says he*) First, that I should seem to introduce a certain *Flexure* of Divinity, which should have no Consistency: 'Secondly, establish a Numerical Unity by those Comparisons. For an *Eye*, a *Fountain*, and a *Sun*, are One in Number, though differently Modified. I was thinking of the *Sun*, the *Beams*, and the *Light*; but it was to be feared still on this occasion, First, That we should suppose a Composition in a Nature wherein there is none; such as the Composition of the *Sun*, and what is in the *Sun*. Secondly, That indeed, we should give an Essence to the *Father*, but should not ascribe a Distinct Existence

Existence to the other Persons, by making them to be some Faculties which exist in God, and have no distinct Existence. The Rays, or the Light, are not other Suns, (as the Son and the Holy Spirit are other Minds distinct from the Father,) but some Emanations and Essential Properties of the Sun. Lastly, Gregory * found nothing better, than to * Pag. 612: lay aside those Images and Shadows, as being Deceitful, and very Remote from the Originals.

After all Gregory believes † that the Holy † Pag. 608: Trinity was only revealed by degrees; so that the Revelation manifested to Men, first God the Father, without speaking of God the Son but obscurely; afterwards the Son, without requiring from Men the Belief of the Holy Spirit; and lastly, the Holy Spirit, after the Ascension of the Son.

One may judge from those places, of the Doctrine of Gregory, and the Orthodox of his time; with whom the Orthodox of ours agree as well in Terms, as they differ from them in Sense. One may also observe in the Expressions of our Bishop a remarkable Effect of Disputing; viz. when Men are afraid that their Adversaries will take advantage of certain Expressions, they carefully forbear using them, for fear of lying open to 'em; though those Expressions are very proper to express the Doctrine they

maintain. 'Tis manifest, that *Gregory*, to be well understood, should have answered the *Arians*; 'Yes, 'tis true, we worship 'Three Gods, since we acknowledge Three 'Eternal Minds, who have Distinct Essences: 'But those Gods are perfectly Equal, and 'as perfectly United as Distinct Beings can be, having the same Thoughts, and the 'same Will; hence it is that we commonly 'say, that we acknowledge but One God. — But had he spoken thus, the *Arians*, who boasted of their studying, and following the Scripture, would have presently replied, that the Scripture represents the Unity of the Supreme God, as a *Numerical* Unity, not as a Unity of *Species* and Agreement. They would have said (as they already did) but with greater shew of Reason, that the *Homoousians* introduced a New Paganism, by acknowledging Three Collateral Gods. So that they were obliged, to avoid those Reproaches, stoutly to maintain that there is but One God, according to the *Nicene* Opinion. The *Platonicks*, who had the same Thought, but were not confined to Expressions, spoke it out, and said, that the Principles of All Things are Three Gods. I cannot forbear quoting, on this occasion, some remarkable Words of *St. Augustine*, which do admirably confirm what I have just now said; * *Liberis Verbis loquimur Philosophi,*

* *De Civit.
Dei*, l. 10.
c. 23.

*Philosophi, nec in rebus ad intelligendum
difficillimis, offensionem Religiosarum aurium
pertimescunt. Nobis autem ad certam Regu-
lam loqui fas est, ne verborum licentia,
ETIAM in rebus quæ in his SIGNIFI-
CANTUR, impiam gignat opinionem. Nos
autem non dicimus Duo vel Tria Principia,
cum de Deo loquimur; sicuti nec Daos Deos
vel Tres nobis licitum est dicere, quamvis de
unoquoque loquentes vel de Filio, vel de Spi-
ritu Sancto, etiam singulum quemque Deum
esse fateamur.*

The Philosophers do freely
use any Words, and are not afraid of
offending Pious Ears, in Matters very dif-
ficult to understand. As for us, we are
not allowed to speak, but according to
a certain Rule; lest some Words used
with too great a licence, should produce
an impious Opinion, if understood ac-
cording to their Signification. When we
speak of God, we neither mention Two
nor Three Principles; as we are not al-
lowed neither to say that there are Two
or Three Gods, though speaking of every
one of them, either of the Son or Holy
Spirit, we say that each of 'em is God.

Such a Conduct, was the Cause of depart-
ing by degrees from the ancient Notions;
because the word *Unity* was taken in its or-
dinary Signification, without minding that
the Antients understood it in a particular

Sence. The same hath happen'd in several other Doctrines.

Having thus alledged so many Proofs of our Bishops Opinion concerning the Doctrines which then divided Christians, 'tis now time to return to his History. The Council, which I have already mention'd,

* *Socrat.*

l. 5. c. 8. &

Sozom. l. 7.

c. 7.

* met at *Constantinople* in *May*, in the Year 381. It was made up of a CL. Orthodox Bishops; and XXXVI. *Macedonians*, whom they hoped to bring to the Orthodox Faith. Besides, some Canons made in it concerning the Discipline, which I shall not mention, the Business of *Gregory* and † *Conc. C. P.* *Maximus* was debated in it, and they made a Creed. † *Maximus's* Ordination, and all those which he might have conferred, were

† *Conc. C. P.*

c. 4.

|| *Carm. de*

Vit. p. 14.

|| they declared *Gregory* Bishop of *Constantinople*, though he endeavoured to be excused from it. They made him promise he would stay in it; because he persuaded himself, that being in that Station, he could more easily reconcile the different Parties which divided Christianity. Indeed, it was said against *Gregory's* Promotion, that having been Bishop of *Sasine* and *Nazianzum*, he could not be transferred to *Constantinople*, without breaking the Fifteenth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which is Formal thereupon. But

Meletius

Meletius Bishop of *Antioch* replied to that, ^{* Theodor.}
That the Design of that Canon was to ^{l. 5. c. 8.}
bridle Pride and Ambition, which had no
share in that Business. Besides, it seems,
that that Canon was not observed in the
East; since † *Gregory* calls what they op- † *Carm. de*
posed to him, *Laws dead long since*. Fur- *Vit. sua,*
thermore, he had exercised no Episcopal *p. 29.*
Function at *Sasime*; and as to *Nazianzum*,
he had been only his Father's Coadjutor,

That Business being over, they came to
treat of the chief Subject for which they
were met; viz. *Macedonius's* Opinion, who
had been Bishop of *Constantinople*, and be-
lieved that the Holy Spirit is but a Crea-
ture; though all the Disciples of that
Bishop agreed not about the Nature of that
Divine Person, (as may be seen from a Pas-
sage of *Gregory*, which I have quoted.)

The *Nicene Creed* was presently con-
firmed in the Council, and 'twas thought
fit || to make some Additions to it, espe- || *Vid. Conc.*
cially to what concerns the Holy Spirit. *Chalced.*
That Addition is express in these words, *Art. 2.*
I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and
Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Fa-
ther, who with the Father and the Son toge-
ther, is worshipped and glorified, and who
spake by the Prophets.

The Council did also Anathematize the
Opinions of *Sabellius*, *Marcellus*, *Photinus*,
Eunomius,

Eunomius, Apollinarius, and Macedonius; but I shall not enlarge upon those Errors, because they have no essential relation with the Life of *Gregory*. For the same reason, I shall omit what concerns the Discipline.

All things went quietly enough with respect to *Gregory*, till there arose a Storm, which deprived him of the Episcopal See of *Constantinople*, when he least expected it. The Spirit of Vengeance, of a Party which he opposed, was the cause of that Disturbance; which *Gregory*, who was not courageous enough to sustain the shock of his Adversaries, could not get himself rid of, but by running away.

There happen'd, some time before, a mischievous Schism in the Church of *Antioch*, where there were Two Orthodox Bishops at the same time. *Melorius* being dead at *Constantinople*, before the Council was ended, 'twas propos'd to give him a Successor. Thereupon *Gregory* propos'd an Expedient to put an end to that Schism; viz. That *Paulinus*, who was the other Orthodox Bishop, * and had been Ordained by *Lucifer* of *Cagliari*, should govern alone the Church of *Antioch* during the rest of his life; and afterwards, those of *Melorius's* Party being reunited with those of *Paulinus's*, should chuse a Bishop by common Votes,

* *Carm. de Vit. p. 25.*

Left it should be thought he had some Interest in favouring *Paulinus*, and that he designed to make a Party; he offered the Counsel to leave the Episcopal Throne of *Constantinople*, on which he was just settled. But the *Ambitious Men*, and *Incendiaries*, (as *Gregory* calls 'em) who began to move to give a Successor to *Meletius*, would not hearken to that Proposal. * A company * *Ib. p. 27.* of Young Men fell a crying like *Mag-pies*, and made so great a Noise, that they drew in even the Old Bishops, who should have resisted them, and brought to a second Examination the Business of *Gregory*, which was just before ended. *Gregory* describes admirably well their Ambition, Ignorance, and their other Defects, in the *Poem* he made concerning his Life: One had better read it in the Author himself, than here. In the mean time, the People having heard that *Gregory* began to be weary of the Council, and was talking of retiring, fell a crying that they would not take their Pastor from them, and desired him that he would not leave his Flock.

Thereupon, *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who had succeeded *Peter*, and was of a violent and quarrellous Temper, arrived with several *Egyptian* Bishops. The old Grudge they bore *Gregory*, on the account of *Maximus* the *Cynick*, had inflam'd them

to such a degree against our Bishop, that the first thing they did, was to complain that they had broke the Canons, by transferring *Gregory* from one Bishoprick to another. This caused a great stir in the Council, and on that occasion *Gregory* made his *Oration* concerning *Peace*, which is the Fourteenth, wherein he describes at large the Advantages of Concord, and the Mischiefs which arise from Divisions. He severely censures the Inconstancy of the Bishops, who had other Thoughts of him, without any reason, and suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the Calumnies of his Adversaries. He says, that the ill Reports which are commonly spread against Moderate Men, ought to be despised.

Lastly, One may easily perceive, by all that he says, that 'tis not only in our time that Men have cover'd their most shameful Passions, with the specious Name of Zeal for the Purity of the Faith. Wherefore *Gregory* says * that he told 'em, ' That they should not trouble themselves so much with what concerned him, but that they should endeavour to be re-united; That 'twas time for 'em to expose themselves no longer to be laught at as Wild Men, and such as have learned nothing but Quarrelling; That provided they would agree, he would willingly be the *Jonas* who should
make

* *Ib.* p. 29.

‘ make the Storm to cease ; That he had
 ‘ accepted of the Episcopal See against his
 ‘ will, and willingly parted with it ; and
 ‘ that his Body, weakened with Old Age,
 ‘ obliged him to’t.

But because notwithstanding they charged him with Ambition still, he made a Discourse which is his Twenty seventh *Oration* ; whereby he protests that he had accepted the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* against his will, and appeals to all the People for it. He says, * he doth not know whether he ought to call the See of *Constantinople* the *Throne of a Tyrant*, or a *Bishop* : He complains of his Enemies Evil-speaking, and the Envy they bore him, † because of his Eloquence and Learning in the Sciences of the Pagans. That perhaps raised the Envy of some ; but the Station he was in, raised without doubt the Envy of many more. He might have made use of all his Rhetorick at *Safme*, without being put to any trouble upon that account.

* *Ortt.* 27.

p. 465.

† *Pag.* 466.

Having declared, a Full Council, that he desired to leave the Place, which was so much envied ; he went to the Emperor’s Palace, to desire him to give him leave to retire. He obtained it with some difficulty ; and having obtained it, his only Thoughts were to take his leave publicly ; which he did in the Cathedral, in the presence of

of a Hundred and Fifty Bishops, and all the People. The Discourse he made is extant still, and is the Thirty second in order. He describes the bad Condition he found the Orthodox Church of *Constantinople* in, and the Alteration he made in it: He makes a Confession of his Belief concerning the Holy Trinity, and shews that he had done nothing that deserved to be censured: He exhorts the Fathers of the Council to chuse a Person worthy of the See of *Constantinople*, to succeed him; and lastly, takes his leave of all those who heard him. In that **Oration* he complains of his Old Age, And in †*Poem* concerning his *Life*, † he says he was then but a *Dead Man Animated*: Which he could not say, had he been but Fifty six, or Fifty seven years old, according to the ordinary Supputation.

As soon as he had taken his leave, the People, and generally all those who heard him at *Constantinople*, shewed a great grief for it. The Conduct of the Council must needs have appeared to them very inconsistent and violent, since after they had confirmed *Gregory* in the See of *Constantinople*, they obliged him to leave it, when he was above Fourscore Years old. Without doubt, so imprudent and Unchristian a Behaviour gave matter of Sport to the Enemies of the Council, and lessen'd in a great measure the

the Authority of their Decisions. For how can it be imagined that Bishops, as Factionous, Unjust and Ignorant as Gregory describes them in several Places, were able to examine with Deliberation the Doctrines then in question? If their Interest made them not incline to Orthodoxy, 'twas a mere Chance which led them into the right way. The love of Truth is seldom to be found with so much Vanity and Ignorance. ^{and} Thus Gregory left the Bishoprick of Constantinople, some Weeks after he had been settled in it by the Council that turned him out of it: He retired into Cappadocia, (according to Gregory the Priest, the Author of his Life,) and went to live at *Stridianum*, where he was born.

Among those who were presented to the Emperor, some Bishops * put in *Nectarius* * *Sozom.*
a Senator of Constantinople, a Man of an *l. 7. c. 8.*
Exemplary Life, and good Mien, but was not Baptized yet, and had scarce any Learning. 'Tis not known whether Gregory set out for Cappadocia before that Election was made, or whether he stay'd at Constantinople till they had named him a Successor. However, Gregory wrote † an Instruction † *Orat. 46.*
for *Nectarius*, wherein he begins with saying, "That it seems, God's Providence, which heretofore took care of the Churches, had altogether given over the
" Con-

“ Conduct of the Things of this Life. — He says, that his Private Afflictions, though so great, that they would seem intollerable to any body else, induced him not to speak so: He assures, that the Condition only the Church was in, extorted those words from him. Afterwards, he describes to *Nectarius* the Boldness of the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, who were at least as numerous as the Orthodox, and dared to meet publicly. A horrible Undertaking, after the Decisions of a Council so well regulated as that which was held a little before. *Gregory* could not apprehend how his Holiness and his Gravity (so the Bishops were called) suffered the *Apollinarists* to meet. He lets him know, that *Apollinaris* asserted, That the Body of the Son of God existed before the World; That the Divinity supplied the Place of the Soul; and, That the Body, which descended from Heaven, and is Essential to the Son, did notwithstanding die. *Gregory* fancied, I know not why, that to suffer these Men to Meet, was to allow 'em that their Doctrine was Truer than that of the Council, since there cannot be Two Truths: As if to suffer some body, is to denote that one believes their Opinion to be True. Lastly, He exhorts *Nectarius* to tell the Emperor, That what he had done in the

the behalf of the Church, would signifie nothing, if Hereticks were suffered to Meet.

Thus good Gregory, who, whilst the *Arians* were strongest, having the Emperor on their side, would not have that practised, which was blamed in them, exhorted his Successor to forget that good Lecture. So difficult a thing it is not to contradict one's self, when one doth not take great care to be free from Passion!

The next Year * there was an Assembly * *Theod.*
of Bishops held at *Constantinople*, to which *l. 5. c. 8.*
Gregory was invited: But he refused to go;
and he answered those who invited him to
it, thus; † 'If I must write the Truth t'ye, † *Ep. 35.*
'I am so affected, that I will always avoid
'any Assembly of Bishops; because I never
'saw any Synod that had good Success, or
'which did not rather encrease the Evil,
'than lessen it. Without any Exaggeration,
'the Spirit of Dispute and Ambition is so
'great in them, that it can't be express.
One ought not to think that our Bishop
said so, without thinking well on't, and in
a Fit of Passion. He repeats it in his Sixty-
fifth, Seventy first, Seventy second, and
Seventy fourth Letters; and besides, he
diverted himself, by putting in Verses the
same Thought in his Poetical Pieces: || 'I'll || *Car. 10.*
'never go (*says he*) to any Synod, be- *p. 80.*
'cause

'cause there is nothing to be heard there but *Goose* and *Cranes*, who fight without understanding one another. One may see there Divisions, Quarrels, and shameful Things, which were hid before, and are collected in one place with cruel Men.

* *Greg.*
Presb.
p. 52.

Joan. 1.
p. 21.

† *Ep. 222.*
de I. Carm.
de rebus

p. 101.

Being returned to *Nazianzum*, he found that Church * vacant once again, and for that reason infected with the Opinions of *Apollinarius*. They earnestly begg'd of him that he would take again his Father's Place, but he would never do't; which gave his Enemies † occasion to accuse him of Pride, as if he had scorned to take care of a little Church, after he had been seated on the Patriarchal Throne of *Constantinople*. *Gregory* protests, in one of his Letters, that he refused it, for no other reason, but because he was too Old, and too much Indisposed: Yet he seems to promise to lend his Body to the Church, (as he speaks;) which makes one believe that he took upon him the Care of the Church of *Nazianzum*, at least till they should put a Bishop in it.

I shall not mention what happen'd after *Gregory's* Retreat, because he was not concerned in it; except, that he wrote to several of his Friends, to use their Endeavours that the Bishops should live peaceably, even though they should be sharply censured for it.

might not have said, there is no convincing Reason why it should be rejected.

There is no need I should make now the *Encomium* of *Gregory Nazianzen*. One may see by his Conduct, and the Places I have alledged out of his Writings, what Judgment one may make of him in general; and 'tis not safe to trust any body, when one will make an exact Judgment of an Author. We find in his Writings a lively Picture of the Manners in his time, where-

*Vid. Orat.

12. p. 191.

Orat. 19.

p. 308. &

alibi pas-

sim.

† Carmin.

de Vita,

p. 28. vo-

cantur E-

piscopi Xer-

simones,

Mercatores

Christi.

|| Orat. 19.

p. 308.

* Ibid. p.

310. &

Ep. 71.

in the Penances * of those who lay upon the Ground, and got up by Night to sing Hymns and Weep, hinder'd not the Ecclesiasticks from being generally very corrupt. Religion began † then to be a Pretence to get Money; and forasmuch as 'tis an easier thing to keep a fair Out-side, than to mend Inward Defects, 'tis not to be wondered that an infinite number of People, whose Out-side was unblameable, proved very wicked Men at the bottom. The Elections of

Bishops were then made in most Churches by the People, || among whom they must Cabal at a strange rate, to be Preferred.

* Gregory could have wished that that Election had depended upon the Priests, who were more capable of judging of Men's Capacities, than those in whom Riches and Authority are only minded; or the People,

who

who acted with a blind *Impetus*, and could easily be bribed. Yet he learn'd by his own Experience, that the Bishops behaved not themselves more wisely on those Occasions, than the Mobb. One need only read the Description he makes of the Council of *Constantinople*, to be convinced of it. Their Judgment was so much the more to be feared, because they used to give it with great Precipitation, and without exactly enquiring into the Subjects in hand; whereas, they never changed it, but with all the Difficulties imaginable, as it happen'd with relation to *Maximus* and *Gregory*. All their Thoughts were taken up with getting Riches, and encreasing their Authority, under the Pretence of Piety, as *Gregory* upbraids them with it in several places.

Such a Disposition of Heart which was commonly observed in the Ecclesiasticks of that time, was the reason why, to draw People to their Churches, they began to vent *Miracles* and *Legends*, much more frequently than they had before; and to preach a *blind* Belief, instead of exhorting Christians to have a Faith enlightened and grounded upon good Reasons. One may find an Instance of what I say in the Eighteenth *Oration* of *Gregory*, which is in Praise of *St. Cyprian*: He says that the Bishop of *Carthage* had been a *Magician*, and would

T

have

have seduced a Christian Virgin, called *Justina*, by the means of a *Demon*; who having not been able to effect it, went into the Body of *Cyprian* himself, and was turned out of it by that *Magician*, by invoking the God of *Justina*. Those who have read *St. Cyprian*, know that that Bishop never had any such Adventures; and the Confutation of that Fable may be seen in the *Oxford* Edition of *St. Cyprian's* Works, before a supposititious Piece, entituled, *Confessio S. Cypriani Martyris & Pontificis*.

When *Gregory* says, after he had harrangued after that manner upon the Testimony of a *Legend*, that the Ashes of *St. Cyprian* had
 * *Orat. 18.*
 † *Pag. 394.* the Virtue of Driving away Devils, Curing Diseases, and Foretelling Things to come. One is as little disposed to believe those Miracles, as the remaining part of that Fable.

There is also, at the end of that *Oration*, a Prayer to *St. Cyprian*, wherein *Gregory*
 † *Pag. 286.* begs his Help † to govern his Flock well. That Prayer doth not look like a Rhetorical Figure. And there is another Passage in that *Oration* which may make one believe that the Invocation of Saints began to be practised about that time. *Justina* is
 † *Pag. 279.* represented † beseeching the Virgin Mary to help a Virgin in Danger. In effect, the Belief of the Miracles which were reported
 to

to be wrought at the Tombs of Martyrs, hath a very near connexion with the Honour which hath been paid to them these many Centuries among Christians. As they believed that the Ashes of Martyrs cured the Sick that came near 'em, and wrought several other Miracles; it was thought no dangerous thing to make Addresses to 'em, to ask 'em some Favour, since God did so many Wonders in their behalf on those who prayed to him near their Tombs. 'Tis very likely; that the Belief of the Miracles which the Saints wrought after their Death, is not much more ancient than their Invocation. Dr. Cave, in his *Life of our Bishop*, hath reason to say, that *Gregory* addresses himself, sometimes to the Dead, by a Rhetorical Figure; and I have already observed it more than once: But there is no Figure in the Action of *Justina*, which *Gregory* undoubtedly approved, as may be seen by his manner of relating it.

I shall not undertake to speak of all the *Orations of Gregory*, 'tis enough that I have given an Extract of the Chief. We have still Two hundred forty one *Letters* of his, most of which relate to some Private Businesses, which are not well known to us; or contains some Complements, or Moral Sayings, or even Raileries. There are very

few remarkable Facts in them, except those wherein he complains of the vitious Manners of the Bishops of his time, and of their Disputes. Those *Letters* are not writ in a Periodick Style, as the *Oration*s; yet they were written with Care, and there is commonly great Elegancy in them.

Among the Works which bear *Gregory's* Name, 'tis doubted whether these Two be his: 1. The Forty fifth *Oration*, which treats of the *Deity*, and is directed to *Evagrius* the Monk: The Author makes it his Business to explain how there may be Three Persons in God, and yet it can't be said that there are Three Gods: He places, as *Gregory* doth, the Unity of God, in the close Union of the Three Persons, and the *Specifick Identity* of their Essence. 2. A Discourse upon the Beginning of *Ezekiel*.

'Tis thought that the *Paraphrase on Ecclesiastes*, which is among the *Oration*s of our *Gregory*, is the Work of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; and that the Tragedy which is at the end of his *Poems*, and is entitled *Christ's Sufferings*, was made by *Apollinaris* of *Laodicea*.

One may reckon among the Works of *Gregory Nazianzen*, at least as to the Form, a Theological Collection which he made with *Basil* his Friend, by reading *Origen's* Works, (as it appears by his Eighty seventh Letter

Letter to Theodorus Bishop of Tyane.) Forasmuch as Gregory thought it was a useful Collection, one may look upon the Doctrine contained in it, as that of Gregory and Basil. The German Edition of Gregory's Works contains nothing but what is in the Paris Edition. Two things might have made that Edition much better than 'tis, First, Gregory's Oration should have been disposed according to Order of Time, as much as it can be known by the Oration's themselves; which was an easie thing as to a great number of 'em, as hath been seen by Gregory's Life. The same ought to have been done with respect to the Epistles which the Abbot de Billy, though a learned Man, hath not disposed well enough. Secondly, It were to be wished that some learned Men would make a new Translation in Prose of all the Poems of Gregory. That which is in Verse is very bad, not only with respect to the Versification, but also to the Sense. He that made it, being a very bad Poet, took an exorbitant liberty, to fill up the measure of his wretched Verses. Such Translations are of no use to learned Men who don't look upon 'em, nor to those who can't read the Original without the help of a Translation; because they are too remote from it, and may deceive. The Interpreter of

* *Pagi ad*
an. 389.
in 51

Gregory drew, for Example, *Baronius*, * or some of his Transcribers, into an Error; since they believed, that when *Gregory*, a short time after the Death of his Brother *Cæsarius*, and Sister *Gargania*, said that he was an *Old Man*, it was to be understood of a *Premature Old Age*; because the Translator made use of that term, in translating the 363 Verse of the Poem entitled, *Carmen I. de Rebus suis*, though there is no such thing in the Original. As for the Translation of the Works writ in Prose, 'tis incomparably better; and it may be said, that the Abbot *de Billy* was as fit for Prose, as he was unfit for Verses. 'Tis a surprising thing, that a Man of his Learning took so much pains to translate into bad Verses, what he might have better translated in Prose. However, one may observe a thing, in the Translation both of *Gregory's Orations and Letters*; which shews, that one ought always to have recourse to the Original, viz. That the Punctuation of the Translation is often altogether different from that which is in the Greek, which makes it appear neater. This may arise partly from the fault of those who put the Greek over against his Translation, (for he publish'd it by itself, and were not careful enough to correct it; and partly from the liberty the Translator took, who cut several

Periods

Periods that were too long, and lengthened those which seemed to him too short. However, it may be said in general, that 'tis one of the best Translations of the Greek Fathers that we have, and at the same time one of the most difficult, by reason of Gregory's Style being too Florid, and even Harsh and Obscure in several places wherein he handles some controverted Doctrines.

I should end here the Life of Gregory, because there is nothing else to be said of him that is certain, were it not that I perceived, a little too late, that what I have said concerning the putting off of Baptism, may be cleared by Gregory himself. He disputes at large, in his Fortieth Oration, wherein he treats of Baptism, against those who put it off, for the above-mention'd Reasons. After all, it appears, to say so in a word, from that Oration, that Gregory believed, 1. That all past Sins are forgiven and blotted out by Baptism. 2. That 'tis a very difficult thing to be restored into a state of Salvation, if one commits a mortal Sin after Baptism. 3. That those who neglect Baptism, and die without it, are Damned. 4. That those who die without being Baptized, but have not neglected or put off their Baptism by their fault, are

neither Glorified nor Punished ; whether they die in Childhood, or in a more advanced Age, wherein they wished in vain to be Baptized.

It appears from that Doctrine, and several others, that Christian Societies now-a-days, without excepting one, cannot boast to follow the Doctrine of the Fathers in every thing. *Theology* is subject to Revolutions, as well as Empires ; but though it hath undergone considerable Changes, yet the Humour of Divines is not very much alter'd ; as will easily appear, by comparing what we see in those of our time, with the Complaints *Gregory Nazianzen* makes against those who lived in his.

The

[28]

The Life

OF PRUDENTIUS.

A *Urelius Prudentius Clemens* was born in Spain, in the Year 348, (* as he * *Prefat. Cathem.*) himself says, in some places of his Works.)

His Ancestors and Quality are not known, but it appears that he had afterwards some considerable Employments. † After his † *Ibid.*

Childhood, he applied himself, according to the Custom of those Times and the foregoing Ages, to the Study of *Eloquence*, under the Direction of a *Rhetor*. Youth learned, in those Ages, to *Declame* upon all sorts of Subjects, before they applied themselves to the Sciences necessary to dive into the Nature of those Subjects, and handle them well.

That way of instructing Young Men was not New; and the Abuses that crept into

into it, were not introduced all of a sudden.

* L. 2. c. 4. * *Quintilian* assures us, that 'twas only in *Demetrius Phalerianus's* time, about 300 Years before Christ, that the *Athenian* Masters of *Rhetorick* began to exercise Young Men, who desired to advance themselves, and get some Preferments in the State, by proposing some feigned Subjects to them, like those that were treated before the People, or at the Barr, and obliging them to discourse upon those Matters in their Schools. But in *Socrates's* time, who lived a hundred years before, there were already some Masters whose Profession was to teach to defend all sorts of Causes, and who boasted to argue them so, as to make what is Unjust, appear Just; such were † *Gorgias Leontinus*, *Thrasymachus* of *Calcedonia*, *Protagoras* of *Abderinus*, *Prodicus* of *Ceos*, *Hippias* of *Elæus*, and many others, who promised, with great insolence, to teach how a Bad Cause might become Good, by pleading it as one ought to do: *Quemadmodum causa inferior dicendo fieri superior posset.* One may see a bloody Satyr against those Men in *Aristophanes* his *Nubes*, who indeed very unjustly ascribes that Doctrine to *Socrates*, but grounds that Calumny only upon this, viz. That there was at that time some Men who maintained it, and upon some outward resemblance which might be between

† *Cicero* in *Bruto*. §. 8.

between *Socrates's* Discourses and theirs. He that will form yet a more compleat Idea of those Sophists, must read *Aristotle's* Books concerning *Sophistical Arguments*, wherein he assures us, that the Art of those Men was, a *seeming Wisdom, but not really so.*

Socrates, and the wise Men of his time, omitted nothing to ridicule those Men, and hinder that so pernicious an Art should be esteemed, as it may be seen by Three *Dialogues* * of *Plato*, wherein he very ingeniously mocks the Sophists of his time. But they did not succeed in their Design, since *Greece* proved afterwards full of that sort of *Rhetors*; and *Isocrates*, whom *Plato* did much esteem, made two *Orations* like those of *Gorgias*, wherein he praises two Persons that are extremely to blame, viz. *Helena* and *Buſiris*.

* *Hippias*,
Protagoras,
& *Euthydemus*.

See *Cicero*
de Orator.
l: 3. c. 16.

Whatever *Socrates*, and those that were of his Mind, might have said, a Discourse artificially composed, and attended with the other Ornaments of Rhetorick, made so great an Impression upon the People, that by the means of such Art, they overcame the best Reasons. This could not fail to make a great many People desirous to learn it, and to corrupt the Minds of most Men: Therefore they endeavoured to know how to speak agreeably and readily upon

upon all Subjects; and because such a thing depended much more upon Exercise, than the Knowledge of the Things themselves, they spent a great deal more time in Declaming, than in Forming their Judgment, and Studying the other Sciences. If they applied themselves to Philosophy, it was not so much to please themselves with the Knowledge of the Truths which it might contain, as to appear Learned, and make use of them at the Bar. They chiefly applied themselves to *Dialectick*; which was nothing else but the Art of Wrangling upon every thing, and Arguing Sophistically, rather than Rationally. They pretended, that they were not bound to use, upon the Subjects which they treated, Demonstrative Arguments, or such as come as near them as can be; and they thought that it was enough to alledge Likely Arguments, not in such a degree of Probability which moves the Mind by it self, but in such a degree as belongs to the Things which are not opposite to clear Truth. 'Twas almost enough, to say nothing either altogether absurd, or whereof the Weakness was palpable almost to every body. * *Aristotle*, who proposed Two things to himself in his Writings, what is *Probable* (*Πιθανόν*) and what is *True*, handled the former, in his *Dialectick* and *Rhetorick*; wherein he shews how to make

* Vid. *Diog. Laert. in ejus Vita*, p. 319. Ed. Hen. Steph.

make upon every thing Probable Discourses, that is, of the Falsity whereof every body is not sensible.

One may also convince one's self of all this, by reading of the other Ancient Rhetors, and especially the Rhetorical Books which *Cicero* wrote. That Art, as he himself says, came from *Greece* to *Rome*; and besides the *Greeks* who taught Rhetorick in it from the time of the Second *Punick* War, some Masters did also teach to Declame in Latin. 'Twas one *Lucius Plotius* who began to exercise the Youth in that Language, *Cicero* being but a Child.

They distinguished those Exercises into several kinds; sometimes they took a Moral Subject, which they handled so as to alledge nothing that was particular, but only some general Notions, which had no relation to any Fact or Circumstance. This they called *Theses*, and *Seneca* the Rhetor says that those were the Exercises practised before *Cicero*; although it appears from what hath been said, that they had some other Exercises, which consisted in some Discourses which they made upon a true Fact taken out of Ancient or Modern History. Whereupon they enquired what ought to be done on some Occasions; wherein they praised or blamed some Action. *Cicero* calls those Subjects *Causes*; and says in several

* In Pref.

Cont.

† Sueton.

in lib. de
Clarissimis
Rhetoribus.

* *Tuscul.* I.
c. 4.

† *Ep. Fa-*
mil. I. 9.
Ep. 16.

|| *Petron.*
Init.

several places, that he * had much exercised himself in them : Nay, he says, in one of his *Letters*, † that *Hirtius* and *Dolabella* Declaimed at his House, in an Age in which it seems that those Exercises were unseasonable. Afterwards they found, that true Subjects taken out of ancient History, or such as lately happen'd, were not fit for that : They feigned some Facts, and to have more occasion to say some extraordinary things, || they cloathed them with strange Circumstances. There was nothing to be heard but Discourses upon what a Man should do, when he is ready to escape from a Shipwrack, and seeth upon the Shore some Pyrates who will bind him with Chains ; or concerning a Man whom a Tyrant should command, upon pain of Death, to kill his own Father ; or concerning a Father who should see his Children carried away to be sacrificed, by the Command of an Oracle. One may see a great number of such like Subjects in *Seneca's* and *Quintilian's* Controversies. They handled them with such an Eloquence, as came much nearer the Style of a Tragical Poet, than a Judicious Orator. That manner of Study, which was admired in the following Ages, in which Men were much less polite, made most Writers meer Declamators, full of Exaggerations, strained Figures, Wisticisms, Equivocations,

vocations, Punning Arguments which prove nothing, and all the other Defects of a false Rhetorick. They undertook to maintain all sorts of Subjects, without having any regard to Truth, thinking that one might more improve, by exercising one's self to defend bad Causes, than to maintain good one's. Thus *Julian*, being yet a Christian, Declamed against the Christian Religion in the School of *Libanius*, only said they to form his Mind, and use himself to find out probable Arguments *pro* and *con* on all Subjects.

I was obliged somewhat to enlarge upon the Manner of Studying in those Centuries; because without having some Notion of it, these words of *Prudentius*, in the *Abridgment* which he himself made of his *Life*, cannot be understood:

Aetas prima crepantibus

Flevit sub ferulis, mox docuit toga

Infectum vitiiis falsa loqui, non sine crimine.

That last Verse denotes well enough the Rhetorical Exercises which I have mentioned; which Young Men applied themselves to, when they had put on the *White Gown*, that is, at Seventeen or Eighteen Years of Age. In effect, they learned thereby to speak false things (*falsa loqui*.)

loqui;) which though spoken, as it were, out of an ingenious Fancy, yet were *criminal*, (*non sine crimine*,) because by that means they used themselves by degrees to Lye, and speak against their Conscience. Father Chamillard [*who put our Prudentius, in a sum Delphini*] hath paraphrased those words with some that are more obscure: *Plenus criminibus didici dicere falsa criminosé*. But I have not mention'd the Studies of *Prudentius's* time, only by reason of that place; but because, as we shall see hereafter, there is a great many others in our Poet, which require that we should think of the Manner of Studying, and the Eloquence of his Time.

The Christians Studied as others did, and Reasoned almost as they did. One may find a pleasant Description of the Eloquence of that time, in St. *Jerom's* Letter to *Nepotianus*, * concerning the manner how Ecclesiasticks ought to behave themselves: 'Don't you require of me (*says he*) 'Childish Declamations, wherein one may 'find Sentences spread as it were Flowers 'through the whole Discourse; far-fetch'd 'Expressions, to flatter the Hearer's Ear; 'and at the end of every Article, Wit- 'ticisms shut up within few Words, to ex- 'cite the Applauses and Exclamations of 'those that hear us: — *Ne à me quæras pueriles*

* Pag. 12.
Ed. Gryph.

pueriles declamationes, sententiarum flosculos, verborum lenocinia, & per fines capitulorum singulorum acuta quædam breviterque conclusa, quæ plausus & clamores excitent audientium. For then, to say so by by the bye, Acclamations and Applauses were used in Churches, as well as Theaters: * Which * *Ib. p. 14.* appears by St. Jerom's Advertisement in the same Letter: 'I will not have you' (*says he*) 'to be a Declamator, and a Babler without Reason; but understand the Mysteries, and be instructed in the Secrets of your God. 'Tis the part of Unlearned Men, to seek to be Admired by the ignorant Vulgar, by rowling as it were some words, and reciting with an extraordinary swiftness. An impudent Man doth often explain what he knows not; and after he hath imposed upon others, fancies himself to be Learned. I desired once Gregory Nazianzen, who was formerly my Master, to explain to me what's meant by the *Second Sabbath after the First*, in St. Luke: And he pleasantly answer'd, I will teach you that at Church, where, when all the People shall applaud me, you will be forced to know what you do not know; or if you only keep silence, you will be look'd upon as a Fool: *Dosebo te super hac re in Ecclesia, in qua mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris*

U invitus

*invitus scire quod nescis ; aut certe si solus
tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiæ condem-
naberis.*

To return to *Prudentius* : He confesses that when he applied himself to the Study of Eloquence, he lived after a manner somewhat licentious. Afterwards he began to make use of his Eloquence at the Barr ; where his desire of gaining all the Causes he undertook to defend, either good or bad, exposed him, as he says, to great Dangers. Next to that, he obtained twice the Government of some Provinces which he doth not name : He was in the Army for some time, and was raised by *Theodosius*, or *Honorius*, to a considerable Employment, which he describes in these terms :

*Tandem militæ gradu
Evectum Pietas Principis extulit,
Assumptum propius stare jubens ordine
proximo.*

Perhaps he had been *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, which was the Chief Dignity of the Empire. 'Tis not known why, nor upon what occasion, he retired Home ; but it appears, that in the Fifty seventh Year of his Age, he wrote the Preface of his *Hymns for Every Day* ; wherein he alludes to his several

several Works (*Vers.* 35, &c.) which he designed, or had already composed, but perhaps were not yet made publick. They all run upon some Subjects of Devotion, and part of them are in *Lyric*, and part in *Heroick* Verses; yet he was not born for Poetry, and it doth not appear that he had much Learning. He doth very often mistake the Quantity not only of Greek Words, the Orthography of which he doth not seem to have well understood, but also of Latin Words, of which one may find some Lists in his Interpreters. He also uses many words of the Latinity of his time, and a Style which could only be liked then. The noble Facility of the ancient Poets, nor so much of *Claudian*, who lived at the same time, doth not appear in it; and the bottom of his Style is low, and prosaick enough, though he doth whatever he can to raise it. His Heat fails him at every moment: One may perceive that Age had lessen'd the Heat of his Fancy, and that he could not supply it by the Light of his Mind. But if his Poetry doth not please by its Elegancy, yet it may be useful, because one may learn from it several Opinions and Customs of his time, besides some Facts concerning the History of Martyrs; as it will appear by the following Examination of some Places of our Poet.

I. The Book entitled *Hymns for Every Day*, contains Twelve of them, composed as if they were to be sung or recited on several Occasions, at Break of Day, at one's Rising, before and after Meals, when they light the Candle, when one goes to Bed, on a Fast and after Fasting, at all times, at a Funeral, on *Christmas-Day*, and on the *Epiphanie*. The Preface which is before those Hymns seems to be rather a General Preface for all the Poems of *Prudentius*; since (as I have already observed) he alludes therein to all his Works; and says, that he is resolved to leave for ever his worldly Employments, that he might altogether apply himself to write Verses to the Praise of God, against Heresies, and the Pagan Religion, to explain that of Christ, and upon the Martyrs and Apostles. Those are the Subjects upon which all the Poems of *Prudentius* run.

I. One may observe, that that Poet mentions several popular Opinions of the Christians in his time, which they took from the Heathens, as that which is to be found in the First Hymn (*Vers. 38.*) wherein he assures us that they said, *That the Demons, whom the Darknes of the Night rejoices, withdraw when the Day appears.* The Pagans believed that the Demi-Gods retired into some Desert Places, and wandered in

the

the Night, and at Full-Noon, (as I have observed elsewhere ; to which the 72, 73, and 74 Verses of *Callimachus* his Hymn, entitled *The Baths of Pallas*, may be joined, wherein he says that that Goddess bathed herself at the same time that Mount *Cithæron* enjoyed the *Rest of Noon*. What the Latins said concerning their *Lemures* and *Sarages*, is well known.

2. There is many Expressions in *Prudentius*, which are very harsh, and seem to say much more than he designed. For Example, * speaking of *St. Peter*, he says :

* *Ib. v. 58.*

*Flevit negator denique
Ex ore prolapsus nefas,
Cum Mens maneret Innocens,
Animusque servaret fidem.*

It seems that he meant no more than this, viz. That though *St. Peter* had sworn that he knew not our Lord, yet he kept in his mind the same Sentiments for him which he had before. But his words taken in a rigorous sence, seem to say that a Man may speak against his Conscience, and yet have his Mind free from Guilt, as in *Euripides's* Verse :

Juravi Lingua, Mentem Injuratam gera.

Those who delight too much in a Figurative Style, are liable to the like Expressions. Thus St. Cyprian, in his Book * *Oxon. Ed.* * *de Lapsis*, speaking of those who were overcome by the violence of Torments, says, *Infirmatas viscerum sensit, nec animus sed corpus dolore defecit* : " 'Tis not the Mind, but the Body that failed.

† 27.

We shall see in the Sequel of this Discourse another remarkable Example, by which it will appear that *Prudentius* says more than he means.

3. In the Eleventh Hymn, to be recited in the Morning, † there is a slight Imitation of *Horace* : wherein having said, that in the Morning every body betakes himself to his Affairs, *Prudentius* adds :

† *Verf. 29.*

Miles, Togatus, navita,

Opifex, arator, institor :

Illum forensis gloria

Hunc triste raptat classicum, &c.

One may see the beginning of the First Satyr of *Horace*, by which it will appear, that by *Togatus*, we are to understand a *Juris Consult*, or a Lawyer. *F. Chamillard* understands a Judge by it : But what I have said, and *forensis gloria*, which follows, shew that the Poet means, a Person who frequented the Barr, to get Glory by Pleading,

ing,

ing, not to do Justice in it. This agrees well enough with the Division of the Day, which we find in *Martial*, l. 4. Ep. 8.

*Prima salutantes atque altera distinet Flora,
Exercet raucos tertia Causidicos.*

In the words of *Cicero*, cited by F. Chamillard, *Cedant arma togæ, Toga* doth not signifie the Judgments given in time of Peace, and hath no relation with Junicature; but denotes *Eloquence*, as it appears by the rest of the Verse, *Concedat Laurea Lingue*. This is not the only place wherein Criticks will not agree with our Commentator.

4. For Example; *Prudentius*, in the Third Hymn * to be recited Before Meals, * Vers. 2, 1 calls Christ *Verbigena*; where F. Chamillard doth well observe, that according to the Analogy of the Latin Tongue, that word signifies *Begotten*, or *Born of the Word*, as *Martigena* signifies *Born of Mars*. Yet he maintains that this is not *Prudentius's* meaning, because it is contrary to the Faith, which teaches us, that Christ is the very Word of his Father, not a Production of the Father's Word; so that he explains *Verbigena*, *Begotten Word*. But as we would not have our Words to be always explained according to the Notions and Terms of the

Antients; 'tis not just that we should make 'em speak as we do, unless it be evident that they have really used the same Expressions in the same sence. That Rule ought always to be observed, but especially when the Question is about an Incomprehensible Subject, as on this occasion; for indeed, whatever Expressions be used, it doth not become more Intelligible. Besides, it appears from another place of *Prudentius*, that by *Verbigena*, he understood, *Begotten by* * *Verf. 17. Speaking.* Here are his words in the Eleventh Hymn of the same Book:

*Ex ore quamlibet Patris
Sis ortus, & Verbo Editus,
Tamen paterno in pectore
Sophia callebas prius.*

“ Although Thou camest out of the Father’s
“ Mouth, and wast begotten as the Word,
“ yet Thou wast before his Wisdom, in his
“ Breast.

Prudentius expresses in those words the Opinion of several Antients who liv’d before the Council of *Nice*, and believ’d that the Substance of the Son of God had existed after an Incomprehensible manner, and without Generation in the Father, from whom it emanated after an unspeakable manner

ner * before the Creation of the World ; * Vid. Bull
and that Emanation they call his Gene. Def. Fid.
ration. Notwithstanding, they do some- Nican. 5.3.
times explain that Generation by the Ex- p. 5, &c.
ample of the Production of the Word ;
which made Tertullian say, *Hunc ex Deo
prolatum didicimus, & prolatione generatum :*

“ † We have learn'd that God produced him, † Vid. Iren.
“ and begot him by Production. — Hence L. 2, c. 48.
it is that the Fathers of the Council of Nice
anathematized those who should say that *the
Son existed not before he was begotten :* So
that, in their Opinion, the Nature of the Son
of God existed not only before the World,
but is Co-Eternal with God, properly speak-
ing ; whereas his *Personality* is only Eternal,
inasmuch as it did exist before Time, that is,
the Duration of the World. The same Fa-
thers teach, that after the Generation of the
Son, he created the World, (as one may
see in Dr. Bull.) Prudentius says also,
agreeably to that Notion, in the following
words,

*Quæ prompta Cælum condidit,
Cælum, Diemque & cætera.*

“ Which being emanated from the Father,
“ created Heaven, the Day, and all Things
“ else. — Those who will give them-
selves the trouble to compare this Remark
with

with F. Chamillard's Note, will be able to judge whether it be safe to explain the Antients according to the Modern Notions. If any one desires to have a clear Idea of the manner after which the Antients apprehended that the Essence of the Son existed without Generation in his Father, and how he was emanated from him, I refer him to the same Fathers, who will tell him that 'tis a Mystery they comprehended not so more than we.

* Vers. 58.

5. In the same Hymn, * wherein the word *Peribigena* is to be found, there is also an Opinion singular enough, and which savours more of a Pythagorean, or Manichean, than an Orthodox. Having said that the Earth affords all sorts of Fruits to the Christians, he adds:

*Absti enim procul illa fames,
Cædibus ut pecudum libeat
Sanguineis lacerare dapes.*

The Ebionites are accused, as well as the Manicheans, of having believed that 'tis not lawful to eat Meat; and one may see St. Epiphanius upon those two Heresies. Prudentius might have said in this place more than he thought, as F. Chamillard believes, who observes, that he only meant, that many abstained from Meat, tho' they thought it not unlawful, only to live a more austere Life.

6. To

6. Towards the end of the same Poem,
 * *Prudentius*, speaking of Christ's Resur- * *Vers. 19.*
 rection, says :

*Nam modo corporeum memini
 De Phlegethonte gradu facili
 Ad superas remasse Deum.*

"For I remember that a Corporeal God
 "easily came up again from *Pblegethon*.—
F. Chamillard paraphrases this latter word
 by that of *Limbus*, as if *Prudentius*, by
 the Name of one of the Rivers of Hell, un-
 derstood what they call *Limbus Patrum*.
 'Tis certain, that the Pagans, who first
 used the word *Pblegethon*, denoted by it,
 not a River of the *Elysian Fields*, or *Fortu-*
nate Islands, but of Hell, and the Place of
 Torments. So that unless *Prudentius* ex-
 plains it elsewhere, or the general Opinion
 of the Christians of that time leads that
 way, the Criticks will have much ado to
 apprehend why the word *Pblegethon* should
 not denote in *Prudentius* the Place of Tor-
 ments. Now, having examined all the Pas-
 sages in *Prudentius*, wherein that Name,
 and those of the other Rivers of Hell are
 used, I find that *Prudentius* denotes by those
 terms, not a Place of Rest, but a Place
 wherein the Souls are Tormented. He de-
 scribes that Place as the Heathen Poets do,
 either

either with respect to its Situation, or the Torments which they suffer there. Thus in the *Apotheosis*, Vers. 743; he speaks to *Lazarus* in these terms, *Dic cujus vocem tellure sub ima*, &c. Tell us whose Voice you heard under the lowest Places of the Earth, and what Force went through the hidden Places where the Dead make their abode: Since when *Christ* recall'd you, and order'd you to come forth from the Black Depth wherein you was, you heard it as if you had been near. By what so neighbouring an Abyss is the Kingdom of Darknets almost joined with the Upper Parts of the Earth? Where is the dismal *Tenarus*, by which they go down through a vast Extent? and that Hidden River, which rouls Flames in its Channel, which nothing can fill?

It appears from thence, that *Prudentius* placed Hell under the Earth, at a very great distance from the Place wherein the Living dwell: as *Homer* and *Hesiod*, who say that *Tartarus* is as far from thence, as Heaven is; and that an Iron Anvil thrown from Heaven upon Earth, or from hence to *Tartarus*, could get thither but in Ten Days.

In his *Hamartigeny*, Ver. 824. he describes Hell in the following words:

Præscius

*Præfatus inde Patet liventia Tartarus plumbæ
Incendit liquido, picæque bitumine fossas
Infernalis Aquæ furva subsodit. Averno,
Et Phlegethonte sub gurgite sauciæ edaces
Perpetui scelerum penis inolescere vermes.*

One would almost think that this Heathen Poet who speaks thus; but he is not the only one who hath done the same; the Jews, before and after Christ, and the ancient Christians, express themselves in the same terms.

Now, if it be asked what was the Opinion of the Fathers concerning the Place into which Christ descended, and thence he took out of it? I answer, That there was some diversity of Opinions amongst them upon that Subject, although they agree in some respects. They * all constantly say * that Christ descended into the subterranean Places where the Dead make their abode; but they don't agree about the Persons to whom he made himself known, and the End for which he went to them, because they had not the same Notions concerning the State of the Dead. Some who by the words *Hades* and *Infernus*, understood the Places wherein the Souls of all Men both Good and Bad, are expecting the Resurrection, believed that the Soul of Christ descended towards the Souls of those who died

* See Pearson upon the Fifth Article of the Apostles Creed, pag. 256, &c.

died in the fear of God, as the Patriarchs and Prophets. But some others, as *St. Augustine*, who thought that those words are never to be found in the Scripture for a Place of Happiness, and consequently could not apprehend that the Souls of the Patriarchs and Prophets should be detained in it; those Fathers, I say, could not believe that Christ, in his Descent into Hell, went to the Prophets and Patriarchs who were not there.

Some of those who followed the former Opinion, as *Eusebius*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Jerom*, believed that Christ took from Hell the Souls of Good Men, and led them into Heaven. That's the Opinion of the modern School-men, and which *F. Chamillard* seems to follow in his Paraphrase. But others who had the same Thoughts, with respect to the word *Hades*, believed that the Souls were still in a subterranean Place, which they call *Abraham's Bosom*, where they were to stay till the Day of the Resurrection. *Justin Martyr*, *St. Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *St. Hilary*, and *St. Gregory Nyssen*, were of that Opinion.

Others, who maintained that the Souls of the Patriarchs could not be in a Place call'd *Hell*, which, in their Opinion, denotes only the Place of Torments in the Scripture, said that Christ really descended into

into the Place wherein the Devils and wicked Men are tormented. They believed he went thither to deliver the Souls which were there to suffer the Punishment which their Sins deserved. Some pretended that Christ had only delivered a certain number of those Souls; and others, that he had altogether emptied Hell. St. *Augustine* * calls * *Heres. 79.* this latter Opinion a Heresie; and follows the former. However, it was St. *Cyril's* Opinion, † who assures us, that when † *Hom. Pasch. 7.* Christ was risen, he *left the Devil alone in Hell*. Prudentius seems to have been of the same Mind too; at least, in his || *Fifth Hymn*, || *Verf. 125.* he says that every Year, on the Night in † *133.* which Christ rose, the Damned feel no Pain; which supposes that Christ descended into that Place, and took the Damned out of it on that very Night:

*Sunt & Spiritibus sæpè nocentibus
Pœnarum calebras sub Seyge seria,
Illa Nocte sacer qua rediit Deus
Stagnis ad superos ex Acheronticis.
Marscent supplicis Tartara mitibus,
Exultatque sui carceris otio
Umbrarum populus liber ab ignibus
Nec fervent solito flumina sulphure.*

“ The Spirits of the Wicked, the Night
“ in which God came from the Lakes of
“ Acheron,

"Acheron, have some solemn releases from
 "their Torments. *Tartarus* languishes
 "with milder Punishments; the People
 "of the Shades, free from Fire, are glad to
 "have some rest in their Prison, and the
 "Rivers of Brimstone don't boil as they are
 "wont to do. ——— F. Chamillard ob-

* *Enchir.*
 c. 12.

serves that the Poet was mistaken in that respect, altho' St. *Augustine* * believed also that the Damned had sometimes some release. The School-men, and other Divines, who are so positive upon that Matter, should produce a clear Revelation, or the Testimony of some that have been in the Places which they speak of. But it appears, by the variety of Opinions, that no body hath any such Proof; and all that can be said, is, that it were better ingeniously to confess that they know nothing of it, no more than those who formerly spoke of it so differently. We shall see again, in the sequel of this Work, a Thought of *Prudentius*, extraordinary enough, concerning the State of the Dead.

† *Vers.* 95. 7. In the Hymn † to be said before Sleep, speaking of the Divine Justice, which can kill the Soul, as well as the Body, he says,

Idem tamen benignus

Ultor retundit iram

Paucosque non piorum

Patitur perire in ævum.

"Notwith-

“ Notwithstanding, that Revenger, full of
“ Goodness, stops his Wrath, and only
“ permits that some impious Men perish
“ for ever. ——— Had *Prudentius* read
Plato, one might believe that he should
have taken that Opinion from him ; for
that Philosopher introduces *Socrates*, in his
Phædon, dividing Men into Three Orders ;
the last whereof, which contains but a small
number of them, is of those who are come
to the highest pitch of Wickedness, and
who being past curing, are precipitated
into *Tartarus*, never to come out of it. It
may be also that our Poet, by *Perire in*
Ævum, meant, not meerly to be excluded
from Heaven, or to be in Hell, but to suf-
fer the highest degree of Punishment in it ;
for he acknowledged several Degrees of it,
as he says in the end of his *Harmartigeny*,
of which I shall speak hereafter.

The Fathers have very differently spoken
of the State of Souls after Death, and the
Punishments of another Life ; so that 'tis
no wonder that *Prudentius* should have an
Opinion of his own upon that Subject. We
have seen what they said concerning the
Place into which Christ descended, whilst
his Body was in the Grave : And several of
their Opinions concerning the Duration of
the Punishment of the Wicked, may be seen
in *Huetius* his *Origeniana*, lib. 2. cap. 2. q. 11.

by which it will appear, that *Justin Martyr* and *St. Irenæus* believed that after a certain time they should be annihilated. But, says that learned Man, the Church had decided nothing then concerning those Questions; so that what was look'd upon as uncertain at that time, became certain, since some Councils were pleased to tell what was their Opinion concerning it; which Opinion cannot be ground'd upon a constant Tradition, seeing the Antients spake so differently of it.

8. 'Twas the Custom to make the Sign of the Cross when they went to Bed, thinking that that Sign did drive away the Devil; as *Vers. 131. it appears by these words of * *Prudentius* in the same Hymn:

Frontem locumque cordis

Crucis figura signet.

Crux pellit omne crimen,

Fugunt crucem tenebræ, &c.

“ Make the Sign of the Cross upon the
 “ Forehead and Heart. The Cross drives
 “ away all manner of Crimes, and Dark-
 “ ness flies from the Cross, &c. — The
 Respect which the Antients had for that Fi-
 gure, gave occasion to their being accused
 of worshipping the Cross (as may be seen
 in *Minutius Felix*, who vindicates himself
 from

from it;) but at last the time came, when Men were not ashamed to maintain that it ought to be worshipped. Thus Outward Practises, which strike the Eyes of the People, and are performed without Trouble, are easily kept up and encreased; whilst the Inward Dispositions of the Mind, which cannot be acquired without Pains, and without renouncing one's Passions, are neglected.

9. In the * Seventh Hymn, which is * *Ver. 147* for those who Fast, Prudentius, speaking of the Fast of the *Ninivites*, affords us an Example of a manner of Speaking, which may easily lead one into an Error, if he doth not read with great Attention. He speaks after the manner of his time, of a thing that was done in a very remote time, and which those who did it, would not have expressed after the same manner :

*Placet frementem publicis jejniis
Placare Christum.*

“ It was resolved to appease *Christ* with
“ Publick Fastings. — If the *Ninivites* well known, and if we knew not the Fast which Prudentius mentions, was celebrated many Ages before Christ, we might conclude from thence, that the People knew Christ. But 'tis very likely that our Poet

had no such Thought, but only spake as they did in his time ; and in all probability, those who spake of the Father's of the Old Testament in Christian terms, did the same.

IO. *Prudentius* is not very exact in his Expressions, as one may easily perceive by the reading of some Pages with a little Application. Here is a remarkable Instance of it in the two Verses of his * Tenth Hymn, wherein he describes Death thus :

*Humus excipit arida Corpus,
Animæ rapit Aura Liquorem.*

“ The Earth receives the Body, and the
“ Wind carries away the Soul. — If we had nothing of him but those two Verses, and if we knew not that he was a Christian, we should maintain, that he believed that the Soul dies together with the Body ; for the second of those two Verses doth naturally signifie so much, and an *Epicurean* could not express himself better. But besides that it cannot be doubted, after the reading of *Prudentius*, that he believed the Immortality of the Soul, he explains himself in his second Book against *Symmachus*, wherein he introduces † *God* speaking thus ;
“ The Inward Man, who lives in you, shall
“ not die ; he shall be punish'd with an Ever-
“ lasting

* 1^{er}. 12.

2^{er}. ib.

‘lasting Punishment, because he hath ill
 ‘govern’d the Members that were subjected
 ‘to him. ’Tis no difficult thing for me to
 ‘surround a Liquid Substance with Flame,
 ‘though it flies as the Wind :

*Nec mihi difficile est liquidam circumdare
 flammis*

*Naturam, quamvis perflabilis illa feratur
 More Noti.*

He would have the Soul to be a very subtle
 Liquor, which the Wind carries away ; but
 he pretended, that it could not be dissipated.
 The question is not, whether he had a clear
 Idea of what he said, and whether his Opi-
 nion is rational ; ’tis enough to shew that he
 believed those two things, lest he should be
 suspected of *Epicureism*. F. Chamillard
 conjectures, that he might believe that the
 Soul was of the same Nature with Heaven,
 or of the *Quint-Essence* which Heaven is
 made of. But *Prudentius* his *Chimera’s*
 were not perhaps the same with those of the
Peripateticks of our time.

II. The Work entitled *De Coronis*, con-
 tains a Preface, and Fourteen Hymns, in
 Praise of several Martyrs, especially of *Spain*,
 which was our Poet’s Native Countrey.

1. It doth clearly appear from several Places in those Hymns, that they Prayed to Martyrs at that time, and believed that they were appointed Patrons of some Places by God. Some Protestant Writers, who fancy that the Tradition of the Four or Five first Centuries of the Church ought to be joined with the Scripture, have denied that the Saints were Prayed to in the Fourth Century; but they should not have framed a Notional System, before they were well instructed in Facts, since they may be convinced of this by several places out of *Prudentius*. Thus in the * First Hym, which is in Praise of two Martyrs of *Calahorra*, a City of *Spain*, he says, *Exteri nec non & Orbis, &c.* Strangers come hither in Crowds, because Fame hath publish'd through the whole World, that the Patrons of the World (*Patroni Mundi*) are here, whose Favour may be sought for by Prayers. No Body did ever offer here pure Oraisons in vain. Whosoever came to Pray to them, perceiving that his just Requests had been granted him, went away full of Joy, having wept off his Tears. Those Martyrs are so careful to intercede for us, that they suffer not that they should be Prayed to in vain: Whe-

* Ver. 10.

Prudentius.

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* Whether it be done with a loud or a low Voice, they hear it, and report it to the Ears of the Eternal King. — Those who desire more Proofs of it, need only read the Passages marked in the * Margin.

* Hymn. II.

ver. 457.

III. 311.

IV. 175,

or 196.

V. 545.

IX. 97.

X. 139.

XIV. 124.

It doth also appear from *Vigilantius* a Priest † of *Barcelona* his upbraiding most of the Christians of his time upon that account, that there were already great Abuses in the Honour which they paid to the Saints. *St. Jerom*, who answer'd him, confirms the same, by his manner of vindicating himself: He feigneth so to understand the Objections of *Vigilantius*, as if that learned Man had said that the Martyrs were Honoured as Gods, whereas he only complained that they Prayed to them, and Kissed their Relicks. Hereupon his Antagonist denies that they Worshipped the Martyrs, and believed they were Gods; but he doth not deny that they Prayed to them. One may see his violent Invective against *Vigilantius*, in the Second *Tome* of his Works.

† Vid. *Hic-*

ron. T. 2.

2. Although *Prudentius* relates a great number of Circumstances of the Torments of the Martyrs, whom he mentions; yet he complains that Time and the Heathens

have destroyed abundance of Acts, from which one might have learned them.

O vetustatis silentis obsoleta oblivio !

Invidetur ista nobis, fama & ipsa extinguitur,

Chartulas blasphemus olim nam Satelles abstulit.

* Hymn I.
ver. 73.

“ * O Forgetfulness of Antiquity ! We are
“ deprived of the knowledge of those Facts ;
“ and the very Fame, which would have
“ mention'd them, is extinguished ; for
“ the *Satellites* of the Heathens have long
“ since taken from us the Acts. —

The History of the Martyrs hath been the better adorned for it ; they are represented to us not as Men, but as Persons that have no Feeling, and at the same time are almost out of their Wits, (as it appears by the Hymns upon *Lawrence* and *Agnes*.) Hence it is also that *Prudentius* made but Two Persons of several, *Hippolytus's* and *Cyprian*, as *F. Chamillard* hath observed upon the Eleventh and Twelfth Hymns.

3. They believed, in our Poet's time, that Rome was full of the Graves of Martyrs, whereof the Number was not known, † as may be inferred from the following words :

† Hymn II.
ver. 541.

Vix

*Vix fama nota est, abditis
Quàm plena sanctis Roma sit,
Quàm dives urbanum solum
Sacris sepulchris floreat.*

" 'Tis scarce known how full Rome is of
" hidden Saints, and how rich and adorned
" with holy Sepulchres the Soil of that
" City is. ——— The great Crowds of
People about the Graves of the Martyrs,
brought them too great a Gain to the Ec-
clesiasticks in whose Parish they were found,
to believe them altogether upon their
Word. However, they began then to set
up the *Catacombs*, of which here's a Descrip-
tion taken out of the * Eleventh Hymn : * Ver. 158.

*Haud procul extremo culta ad pomæria vallo,
Mersa latebrosis crypta patet foveris, &c.*

' Not far from the Walls of the City is a
' Vault, that lies open through dark Pits :
' They go down into it by winding Stairs,
' without seeing any thing at all, for there
' is but a small Light that gets into it through
' the Door of the Stairs ; but when they go
' forward to the darkest Place, after they
' have walked through the winding Bye-
' ways of that Den, the Light comes in
' through a Gap that is above : And al-
' though those Paths are very narrow and
' wind-

• winding, yet one sees often the Light
 • through such like Gaps which are in the
 • pierced Vail, &c. In The Body of *Hyp-*
 • *politus* (says *Prudentius*) was laid in that
 • hidden Place.

to ei swaH luf wot nwonl sounl aiT "

4. 'Tis not only the Behaviour of the
 Christians towards the Martyrs, after their
 Death, which may be observed in the Works
 of *Prudentius*, but one ought also to remark
 how they behaved themselves towards

* Ver. 333. them whilst they were alive. In the Fifth
 Hymn, which contains *St. Vincent's* Pas-
 sion, *Prudentius* represents the Christians go-
 ing in Crowds to the Prison, wiping and
 kissing the Wounds which he received when

he was pinched with Tongs (*ungularum du-*
plices fures) holding his Blood, or dipping
 a Cloth in it, to keep it as a kind of Preser-
 vative for them and their Posterity. It ap-

† Ver. 75, pears also from the † Sixth Hymn, that
 † Ver. 75, *Erastus* Bishop of *Syracusa* was attended
 with many Friends of his as far as the burn-
 ing Pile, and that they desired him to re-
 member them. Afterwards they gathered
 carefully his Ashes and Bones, and having
 sprinkled them with Wine, they buried
 them magnificently enough. In the Tenth

|| Ver. 665, Hymn, which contains the Passion of *Rb-*
 † Ver. 665, *minus*, a Christian Woman being at his
 Execution with a Child, delivers him to be

ask'd

ask'd, whether 'tis not better to worship One God than Many? The Child answers, Yes, and says that his Mother taught him so: Whereupon the Pagan Judge causes him to be whipt till the Blood runs before his Mother who exhorts him to suffer, is angry with him because he calls for some Drink, and afterwards carries him to be Beheaded.

If those Circumstances, and many more, are true, it doth necessarily follow, that they spared then, in some measure, the Blood of the Christians, and put but few of them to death, to terrifie others, since they did not put to death such Persons as made a publick Declaration. Yet if we believe those who wrote since the History of those Times, 'twas enough to shew that one was a Christian, to suffer Martyrdom; and the Rivers were red with the innocent Blood that was shed, to confess the Name of Christ. Those who have no great love for Truth, and maintain it with the same Spirit that stirs those who defend a Faction, have always done the same: They never believed that simple Truth was sufficient to maintain it self, but that it wanted to be adorned and upholden with Lyes. A fatal Conduct, and which hath done Truth so great a wrong, as will never be repaired. All that can be done by those who love it, is to endeavour to disentangle

tangle it from Fables as much as they can, and ingenuously to confess that an infinite number of Falshoods hath been mixed with some true Facts. This we are obliged to do, especially in the History of the Martyrs; and Mr. Doddwell hath happily performed it in his *Cyprianick Dissertations*, wherein he shews that there hath not been so many Martyrs as the Martyrologies reckon.

5. Although the Heathenish Custom, of filling the Churches with Images, is not approved, because it hath been found by Experience that they do more harm than good; yet it must be confessed, that that Custom was practised in *Italy* in the beginning of the Fourth Century, and perhaps before. We learn it from *Prudentius*, in the Ninth Hymn, wherein he says, * That as he was going to *Rome*, he went into a Church at *Imola*, where *St. Cassianus* a Martyr was buried, and that being upon his Knees before his Grave, he saw there the Representation of his Martyrdom, over-against him :

*Erexi ad Cælum faciem, stetit obvia contra
Fucis colorum picta imago Martyris, &c.*

The same thing may be observed in the
† Ver. 123. Eleventh Hymn, concerning † *St. Hippolytus*,
in

in whose Chappel *Prudentius* reports that the same thing may be seen as in that of *Cassianus*.

*Exemplar sceleris paries habet illitus, in quo
Multicolor fucus digerit omne nefas.*

*Picta super tumulum species liquidis viget
umbris,*

Effigians fracti membra cruenta viri.

It ought to be observed, that upon that Grave there was a Table, or an Altar, on which they celebrated the * *Eucharist*; so that, that Image precisely upon the Altar where they are wont to place Images now in the Church of *Rome*. * Ibid.
ver. 170.

Thus those who had but a confused Notion of Christian Piety, believed that it could not maintain it self without the help of Outward Objects, and I know not what Heathenish Pomp, which hath at last extinguished the Spirit of the Gospel, and substituted Paganism in its room. Whatever hath an Outward Appearance of Piety, and may be observed without having any Vertue in the Soul, was always easily entertained amongst ignorant Nations; who, on the contrary, did always neglect whatever requires some Vertue to be practised. However, we must acknowledge, that Images were not yet permitted every where at that time; witness

witness St. *Epiphanius's* Action, who tore a Vail in a Church of a Village in *Palestine*, named *Anablatha*, because there was a Picture upon it, saying, that it was against the Authority of the Scripture. He himself relates that Action, in a Letter to *John Bishop of Jerusalem*, which St. *Jerom* translated into Latin, and speaks of it as of an Action which no body could blame, and which was grounded upon the Doctrine of the Apostles. However, it appears from *Prudentius*, that this was not the Opinion of the whole Christian Church; and one may see thereby, that the single Testimony of one Father is not sufficient to judge of the Opinions of all the Christians, as 'tis but too often practised.

III. *Prudentius* his *Apotheosis* is a Poem in Heroick Verses, wherein he assaults several Errors either of some Hereticks, or of the Jews. He attacks,

I. The *Patripassians*, or Disciples of *Noëtus*, who lived about the Year 240, who distinguished no *Hypostases* in the Deity, and believing that it was united to Christ, maintained that the Father had suffered as well as the Son. 'Tis a difficult thing to know whether the Opinion of that Heretick is faithfully related, or whether they

they did not ascribe to him the Consequences which they drew from it. However, *Prudentius* endeavours to prove against him, that the Father never made himself Visible, and that consequently it cannot be said that he dwelt in Christ; but it must be confessed that this is a very weak Argument, according to the Notions of our Modern Divines. For if the Essence of the Son became in some respect Visible by being United to Christ, that of the Father became Visible at the same time, because 'tis but One only Essence in Number.

2. The next Hereticks against whom *Prudentius* writes, are the *Unionites*, that is to say, the *Sabellians*, who began to appear about twenty Years after *Noëtus*. They used the same Arguments with that Heretic, to prove the Unity of a Divine Hypostasis; and they were answered as *Noëtus* was, (as may be seen in * *St. Epiphanius*.) * *Harēf.* *Prudentius* upbraids *Sabellius* with saying 57. & 62. nothing that's new; because the Pagans, especially the Philosophers, acknowledged the Unity of a Supreme God, as well as he, although they did sometimes mention many:

Cum

*Cum ventum tamen ad normam rationis
& artis,
Turbidulos sensus, & litigiosa fragoris
Argumenta modis concludunt Numen in
Unum.*

Afterwards he shews, that the Christians surpass those Pagan *Unionites*, because they believe Three *Hypostases* in that One Deity; and that if there was but One *Hypostasis*, the Son would be Son of Himself; which is absurd. That whole Dispute is a very intricate one, because it runs upon a Subject equally incomprehensible to the Orthodox and Hereticks; and those who will carefully read the Reasonings of *Prudentius* and *St. Epiphanius* upon that Matter, will perceive that they prove not *Three Modifications* of One Essence, but *Three* equally Glorious *Essences*.

This the Hereticks upbraided the Orthodox with, when they asked 'em, as *St. Epiphanius* relates it, *Have we One God, or have we Three?* *Prudentius* answers that Question, in his * *Hamartigeny*, thus:

— *Deus Pater est & Filius unum,
Quippe unum Natura facit, quæ constat utrique
Una voluntatis, juris, virtutis, amoris;
Non tamen idcirco Duo Numina, nec Duo rerum
Artifices; quorum generis Dissentio nulla est.*

That

That is to say, those are not Three, whose Nature is the same Kind; *ὁμογενής* in Greek, which is the same thing with *ὁμοούσιος*, (as I have shewed * elsewhere.)

* In the Life of Eusebius.

3. Afterwards *Prudentius* attacks the Jews somewhat weakly, by confusedly relating some Miracles of Christ, and some Effects of the Gospel, either true or false, as the History of I know not what Magical Sacrifice of *Julian*, the Effects whereof a Christian hindred by his Presence. Yet he speaks well of that Emperor; which is a sign of his Equity:

— *Ductor fortissimus armis,*
Conditur & legum celeberrimus ore ma-
nuque,
Consultor Patriæ, sed non consultor habendæ
Religionis.

4. The Fourth Error, which *Prudentius* confutes, is that of *Paulus Samosatenus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, who believed the Unity of God, in the same sence as *Noëtus* and *Sabellius*; but said, that Christ was but a meer Man. To shew the falsity of that Doctrine, *Prudentius* relates the History of the Wise Men, and the Miracles of Christ. He that set down the Titles to those Places of the *Apotheosis*, wherein our Poet begins to

Y

confute

confute a new Error, calls the Followers of *Paulus, Homuncionites.*

5. *Prudentius* explains the Nature of the Soul, against I know not what Hereticks, who seem to have made it Equal to the Divine Nature: He shews, that the Soul hath a Beginning, though it be like God; wherein it differs from the Son, of whom the Essence had no Beginning, having been in his Father from all Eternity. Afterwards he shews how it is subject to several Weaknesses, and may sin. He says that Souls
 Ver. 910. become corrupted, by being united with the Body, which all Men have from *Adam*; whence it is that all Men are born Sinners, and that we must beware of believing that Souls produce other Souls.

6. Our Poet writes against the *Phantasmatics*, that is to say, those who pretended that Christ had not a True Body: He doth especially endeavour to to shew that, if this were true, God would have deceived us, and that Christ's Genealogy would be but a *Chimæra*; in effect, the *Manichæans*, who were of the number of the *Phantasmatics*, rejected that Genealogy.

7. *Prudentius*, in the last place, describes the *Resurrection*, in some Verses, and so ends his Poem.

IV. The

IV. The following Poem, entitled *Hamartigeny*, or, *The Birth of Sin*, is against the Opinions of the *Manicheans* and *Marcionites*, who believed Two Collateral Gods, whereof the one was the Author of Good, and the other of Evil. *Prudentius* doth scarce any thing but set down the common Opinion, and repeat several ways, That there is but One All-Good God ; and that he whom the Hereticks make Equal with Him, is an Angel fallen from his Innocency, who induced Men to Sin, and is really the cause of most Evils which happen in the World, which our Poet describes at large.

The *Manicheans* and *Marcionites* raised an Objection against the Orthodox, which *Prudentius* * alledges, without abating any * *Ver. 640.* thing of its strength ; viz, That if the God who governs the World did not delight in Sin, he would hinder it ; since he is not ignorant of Mens Corruption, and can hinder it. They pretended, that to do Ill, or suffer it, was the same thing, when it can be remedied. *Prudentius* answers, First, That it doth plainly appear, that God delights not in Sin ; since he applies a Remedy to it, and saves those who abstain from it. But, replied the Hereticks, Men cannot Sin, if God will not ; since he masters Mens Hearts, and turns them as he pleases. Our

Poet doth not resolve this Difficulty any other way, than by having recourse to Free-Will, without which, there can be neither Vice nor Vertue. He doth much enlarge upon that, and proves it, not only by the Example of our First Parents, but of *Lot* and his Wife, *Noemi's* Daughter-in-Law; and of two Brothers, one of whom is seen every day to embrace Vertue, and the other to give up himself to Vice: To which he
 * *Ver. 508.* adds * this general Maxim :

*Omnibus una subest Natura : sed exitus
 omnes*

Non unus peragit, placitorum segre formâ.

“ All Men are not of the same Nature, but
 “ all have not the same End, because they
 “ do not all pursue the same thing. —

It appears from what hath been said before, that *Prudentius* believed that Men are born corrupted; but one may see by what he says here, that he believed not that that Corruption did irresistibly determine 'em to do Ill. To which he adds, That because Men may be Good or Bad, as they will, God hath appointed Rewards and Punishments. If the *Manicheans* had further objected to him, That it seems 'twere better if there was no Freedom of Will, nor Happiness, bestowed as a Reward, and if Men
 necessa-

necessarily applying themselves to Good, were necessarily happy, than to make Men so dismal a Present as Free-Will, which exposes most of them to an Eternal Misery: If, I say, the *Manicheans* had raised such an Objection against him, he would perhaps have made use of his Principle, which I have already mention'd, *viz.* That few Men fall into that Misery. And who knows but *Prudentius* came by that Notion because of that Objection, which might easily come into his Mind?

2. *Prudentius*, describing the Flying of *Lot*, uses a word which cannot be understood without the help of the *Old French*, which hath its Original immediately from the bad Latin: 'Tis in the 773 Verse:

Alter (Lot) se proripit, altera mussat.

That is, *Et l'autre muse*; in better Latin, *Necit moros*. Father *Chamillard* paraphrases it *Murmure*, in effect *Mussare* signified that in the ancient Latinity, but afterwards it changed its signification. But that's an Observation of no great moment: I had rather observe another thing which *Prudentius* says in the same History, *viz.* That *Lot's* Wife was not only changed into a Statue of Salt, but also, that that Statue was

perfectly like her, and had the Head turned backwards ; That it was still extant ; and though the Salt did melt, and was often licked by the Cattle, yet it did not lessen. It seems that our Poet had this out of a Poem upon *Sodom*, ascribed to *Tertullian*, wherein 'tis said moreover, that 'twas known every Month, by a certain Mark, that 'twas a Woman's Statue. — I think I am able * to shew, that *Moses* says not that *Lot's* Wife was metamorphosed into a Statue of Salt ; but this is not a fit place to enlarge upon that Matter, or shew, that what is related concerning the Statue of Salt, are meer Fables.

* The Author hath done it since, in his Comment upon *Genesis*.

3. At the end of this Poem *Prudentius* offers a Prayer to God, which deserves to be observed. He prays, ' That when he ' is dead, he may not see a Devil, who carries his Soul into the Black Dens, where ' he will be forced to pay whatever he owes, ' to the last Farthing. He doth not beg to ' be in the Place where the Blessed, especially the Virgins dwell. He says he'll be ' content, provided he sees no Devil, and ' Hell devours not his Soul ; that since it is ' necessary, because of the Corruption ' which his Soul had contracted in his Body, ' he consents to be swallowed up by the ' sad Fire of *Avernus*, provided however ' that

‘ that it shall not be too hot. Let others
 ‘ (says he) be gloriously crowned in an
 ‘ Immense Light, and I but lightly burnt.

*Esto; cavernoso, quia sic pro labe necesse est
 Corporea, tristis me sorbeat ignis Averno :
 Saltem mirificos incendia lenta vapores
 Exbalent, æstuque calor languente tepe scat.
 Lux immensa alios, & tempora vineta coronis
 Glorificent, me pœna levis clementer adurat.*

Prudentius adds not, that he hoped to get out of that Place in the Day of the Resurrection ; so that one cannot affirm, that he understands by it what was since called *Purgatory*, as *F. Chamillard* thinks. The Antients differed so much among themselves concerning those Matters, that we cannot tell whether *Prudentius* had not a private Opinion of his own concerning this; and believed not, that a lesser degree of Heat, though it should last for ever, was a kind of Happiness. In effect, he ranks the Place wherein he wished to be, among the several Habitations in the House of God, which Christ speaks of, *John xix.*

*Multa in Thesauris Patris est habitatio,
 Christe,
 Disparibus Discreta locis.*

V. The *Psychomachy* is an Allegorical Poem, wherein *Prudentius* describes a Fight of Vertues against Vices, and wherein there is nothing that's remarkable.

VI. The two Books against *Symmachus* were composed a little while after the Defeat of *Alarick* by *Stilichon*, in the Year 402. as it appears from the 695 Verse of the Second Book, wherein *Prudentius* mentions that Defeat, as having lately happened. *Symmachus*, a Pagan and Præfect of the City of *Rome*, the most Eloquent Orator of his time, had about eighteen Years before presented a Request to *Valentinianus*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*, to obtain from them the re-establishment of an Altar and Statue of *Victory*, which was in the Place where the Senate met, and which *Gratianus* took away. We have still the Discourse of *Symmachus*, and an Answer to it of St. *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan*, which he wrote when he had disappointed the Request of *Symmachus*, by another which he presented upon the spot. *Prudentius* did also exercise himself in writing an Answer in Verses to the Discourse of that famous Heathen. He excuses himself for daring to write against so learned a Man. * In effect, the Verses of our Poet are not comparable with *Symmachus's*

* Lib. I.
ver. 646.

abus's Prose, as to what concerns the Expression ; though the Reasons of the latter, being only the Reasons of a Declamator, are very much beneath those of *Prudentius*. Yet *Prudentius* says scarce any thing against the Pagan Religion, but what other Christian Authors, who wrote upon the same Matter, said before him. He spends his First Book in that, and answers *Symmachus*'s Reasons only in the Second.

1. One may learn from two Places of the First Book, that there was then but a small number of Heathens in *Rome*, since * *Pru-* * *Ver. 579.*
dentius says to the Pagans, ' That to know
 ' how few People pay Honour to the Altars
 ' of *Jupiter*, one needs only observe of what
 ' Religion are those who live in the highest
 ' Stories of the Houses, those who walk
 ' through the whole City, those who are
 ' nourished with the Bread which the Empe-
 ' rors distributed to the People, those who
 ' lived at the foot of the *Vatican*, and those
 ' who go to the Church of *Lateran*, to be
 ' Confirm'd there. — It appears from
 thence, that the greatest part of the People
 were Christians. And a little lower, † *Pru-* † *Ver. 609.*
dentius teaches us, that the greatest number
 of the Senators were Christians too ; ' Be-
 ' cause they had thrown down the Images
 ' of the Gods, by a Decree of the Senate
 ' made

‘made by the Majority of Votes. *He says,*
 ‘That the Senators gave freely their Con-
 ‘sent to the Proposal of the Emperor for it;
 ‘which was evident, because that Prince
 ‘did equally honour Merit in the Pagans
 ‘and Christians.

2. *Simmachus* had drawn an Argument
 for the Pagan Religion from its Antiquity,
 which he expressed very elegantly; *Si longa*
ætas auctoritatem religionibus faciat, ser-
vanda est tot sæculis fides, & sequendi sunt
nobis Parentes, qui feliciter sequuti sunt suos.

‘If length of Time is of some weight in Re-
 ‘ligion, we ought not to depart from the
 ‘Belief of so many Centuries; we ought
 ‘to imitate our Fathers, who did so well
 ‘imitate theirs. — This is so well worded,
 that the ablest Missionary cannot preach
 better against the Innovators. Yet *Pruden-*
tius answers chiefly two things against that
 Argument, which are so judicious, that the
 most learned Innovator cannot answer a
 Missionary better. The First is, That if
 the manner of Living of past Ages, is al-
 ways to be preferr’d before that of the time
 wherein one lives, the *Romans* of that time
 should have renounced all the Conveniences
 of Life, trodden under foot all Sciences, re-
 call’d the Inconveniences and Barbarity of
 the Age of *Saturn*, and sacrificed Humane
 Victims

Victims to him. The Second thing is,
That the Religion of the *Romans* was very
much altered since *Saturnus*, and even
Romulus's time :

* *Roma Antiqua sibi non constat, versa per* *Ver. 303.
ævum,

Et mutata sacra, &c.

What was remarkable in the Religion of
the *Romans*, is, that since *Romulos*, the num-
ber of the Gods was infinitely encreased :

† *Sanguinis Hectorei populum probo tem-* †Ver. 343.
pore longo

Non multos coluisse Deos, rarisque sacellis
Contentum paucas posuisse in collibus a-
ras, &c.

3. *Symmachus* said also, That as every
Body hath a certain Soul ; so Cities have
some Tutelar Gods, which *Fate* gives 'em.
Prudentius having laught at those pretended
Genius's, || doth very much inveigh, as all || Ver. 460.
the Ancient Christians did, against the Opi-
nion of *Fate*. He says, that if it be true,
there should be no Laws nor Punishments
against Malefactors:

— quos

*quos ferrea Fata
 Cogunt ad facinus, & inevitabile mergunt :
 Quin & velle adigunt pravam insinuantia
 votum,*

Ne liceat miseris vetitum committere nolle.

“ That Unmoveable Fate doth unavoidably
 “ force to Sin ; That it disposes the Will
 “ to do Ill, so that Men cannot forbear be-
 “ ing willing to do what is forbidden.

4. The Heathen Orator vaunted much
 the Institution and Chastity of the *Vestales* :
 But *Prudentius*, who did not suffer himself
 to be surprized by fine words, when the
 Question was about *Paganism*, replied,
 *Ver. 1065, * That it must be observed, that the
 ‘ *Vestales* were chosen in their Childhood,
 ‘ before they came to despise the lawful
 ‘ Bond of Marriage of their own motion,
 ‘ and kindled with the love of Virginity
 ‘ and Religion. They Consecrate (*says he*)
 ‘ their Chastity before the Altars against
 ‘ their Wills, and those poor Wretches are
 ‘ deprived of a Pleasure which they take
 ‘ away from them, but they have not de-
 ‘ spised it : If they are Chaste as to the
 ‘ Body, they are not so as to the Mind :
 ‘ They enjoy no Rest in their Beds, where
 ‘ an Invisible Wound makes them sigh after
 ‘ the Nuptial Torches. — The same
 Argument

Argument cannot be made use of against the Christian *Nuns* of that time, who were permitted to Marry, if they were not content with Celibacy. But some things have happen'd since among a part of Christians, by the means whereof we see now-a-days, upon the Theater of Christianity, its several Parties act the same Scene between themselves, which was acted formerly by the Pagans and Christians.

VII. *Lastly*, There are Forty nine Quadrants to be found in the Works of *Prudentius* upon several Histories of the Old and New Testament, which make up a little Book entitled *Enchiridion*, whereby the Style is still less Poetical than that of the other Works of our Poet.

THE

THE HISTORY OF PELAGIANISM.

IN the Fourth Century, a vast number of People went to visit the *Holy Places* in *Palestine*; which made the Books of *Origen* to be known in the *West*, where they were unknown before. *Rufinus*, amongst others, a Priest of *Aquileia*, having lived thirty Years in the *East*, and studied under *Evagrius* an *Origenist*, not only embraced the Opinions of *Origen*, but being returned into *Italy*, spread them every where, by translating several of his Works. *Pelagius* and *Celestius* learned of him at *Rome* that Doctrine, of which I shall speak hereafter. They were both Monks, and of *Great Britain*; *Celestius* was a *Scotch-man*, and *Pelagius* an *English-man*: The latter's Name was *Morgan*, in the Language of his Countrey,

Countrey, that is, *Born of the Sea*; or in Greek, Πελαγικός, a Name which he took out of his Native Countrey. If we believe

* *St. Jerom*, *Pelagius* was an ignorant Fellow, who knew not how to express himself, who deserved more to be pitied than envied; and *Celestius* a *Solecism-maker*. But *St. Augustine* speaks well of their Parts, in several Places; and indeed, it appears by their Fragments, which remain in his Works, that they did not express themselves so ill as *St. Jerom* says. We have still two Pieces of *Pelagius* among the Supposititious Writings of this latter; whereof one is a *Letter to Demetriades*; and the other is entitled *Symboli Explanatio, ad Damasum*, whereas it should be called *Professio Fidei ad Innocentium*, for *Pelagius* sent it to *Innocent*. This last Piece is also to be found in *Baronius*, and in the First Volume of the Councils of *Cologne*, in 1606.

* In Proem.
Dial. cont.
Pelag.

Pelagius made a long stay at *Rome*, where he got a great Reputation by his Works and Conduct: Hence it is, that *Augustin* Bishop of *Hippo* praised him, and wrote a very obliging Letter to him, before he fell a Disputing with him. He calls him, in his Book *De Peccatorum Meritis*, † *Vir, ut audio*, † *Cap. I, 3. sanctus, nec parvo profectu Christianus, bonus ac prædicandus Vir*: “As I hear (says he) he is a Holy Man, and very much improved

* Dogm.
Theol. I. 3.
p. 586.

† Lib. 1.
Ep. 314.

|| Vid. Vsf.
ser. Brit.
Eccl. Antiq.
c. 9. p. 16.

“ proved in Piety, a Good Man, and
“ worthy of Praise. — *Petavius*, in his
Book * *De Pelagianorum & Semi-Pelagianorum Dogmatum Historia*, observes, that
St. Augustin wrote the Book in which he
speaks so advantageously of *Pelagius*, after
the Condemnation of *Celestius* in the Council
of *Carthage*, in 412. From whence he
concludes, that *St. Chrysostom* doth not mention
the same *Pelagius* in his Fourth Letter,
wherein he laments the Fall of a Monk of
the same Name. 'Tis not more likely that
Pelagius the Hermit, to whom *St. Isidorus*
of *Damietto* wrote † sharp Censures, was
the same whose History I write, and whose
Life was always unblameable, as it appears
by *St. Augustin's* Testimony.

Rome having been taken by the *Goths*, in
the Year 410; || *Pelagius*, who was there,
left it, and sailed into *Africa*; but he did
not stay there, having presently set out for
the *East*. In the mean time, *Celestius* his
Disciple stay'd at *Carthage*, and aspired to
be Priest of that Church; but because he
made no scruple to maintain the Opinions
of his Master, he was accused by *Paulinus*
a Deacon of the same Church, in a Council
wherein *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* presided
in the before-mentioned Year. *Celestius*
was Condemned and Excommunicated, as
having maintained these Seven Propositions.

I. ' That

1. That *Adam* was created a Mortal Man,
and would have died, whether he had
sinned or not. 2. That *Adam's* Sin had pre-
judiced none but himself, not all Mankind.
3. That the *Law* brought Men to the *Hea-
venly Kingdom*, as well as the Gospel.
4. That before the Coming of *Jesus Christ*,
Men were without Sin. 5. That New-
born Children are in the same Condition
in which *Adam* was before his Fall. 6. That
all Men do not die through the Death and
Prevarication of *Adam*, as all Men do not
rise through the Resurrection of *Jesus*
Christ. 7. That Man is without Sin,
and may easily obey God's Commands if
he pleases.

Celestius answered all those Heads; but
we have only some Fragments of his An-
swers, in *St. Augustine's* Book; that is to
say, we have no other Witnesses of his
Doctrine but his Adversaries, who took no
great care to propose their Accusations
clearly, and to apprehend well of the Opi-
nions of those whom they accused, as it ap-
pears by the Obscurity of the before-men-
tion'd Heads. * *Celestius* said, among other
things, that as for what concerns the Pro-
pagation of Sin, he had heard many *Catho-
lick* Priests, and especially *Rufinus*, deny it.
He presented a Request to the Council,
wherein he confest, that Children were Re-

* *Aug. de*
Pecc. Orig.
c. 3.

deemed by Baptism. But he was Condemned notwithstanding ; and being obliged to leave *Africa*, he went into *Sicily*, where he wrote some Books in his Vindication. From thence some short Questions were sent to *St. Augustine*, which *Celestius* had composed to prove that Man is not by his Nature unavoidably enclined to do Evil. Those Interrogations are contained in Fourteen Articles : I shall only here set down one or two, by which one may judge of the rest.

- * *Quest. 1.* * ' First (*says he,*) Those who say
 ' that Men cannot be without Sin, must be
 ' asked, what Sin is in general ? whether it
 ' be a thing that may be avoided or not ?
 ' If it cannot be avoided, there is no harm
 ' in the committing of it. If Man can
 ' avoid it, he may be without Sin. Now,
 ' there is no Reason nor Justice that allows
 ' that what cannot any way be avoided,
 ' should be called a Sin. † *Again,* It must
 ' be asked whether Man ought to be with-
 ' out Sin ? It will undoubtedly be answered,
 ' that he ought. If he ought, he can be
 ' without it ; if he can't, he is not obliged
 ' to it. Besides, if Man ought not to be
 ' without Sin, he ought not to be a Sinner ;
 ' and 'twill be no more his fault, if it be
 ' supposed that he is necessarily such.

At the same time, *Pelagius*, who was at *Jerusalem*, published several Pieces, wherein he

he explained his Opinion more fully, * and in particular asserted, that although no Man but *Jesus Christ* had been without Sin, yet it did not follow from thence that it was impossible. He affirmed, that he did not Dispute about the Fact, but about the Possibility; and besides, that it was possible only by the Grace and Assistance of God. *St. Augustin* undertook to confute one of those Writings of *Pelagius*, in his Book *De Natura & Gratia*. He accuses him, on the one hand, of confounding the Graces which God gives to Men, when he creates them, with those by which he regenerates; and on the other hand, of saying, that God bestows his Graces according to Mens Merits, and that those Graces are only External; but we shall see hereafter how *Pelagius* explained his meaning.

Three Years after *Celestius* had been Condemned at *Carthage*, his Master was accused at *Jerusalem* of having the same Opinions. *John* Bishop of that City called an Assembly of some Priests, to examine *Pelagius*, and see whether he really held the Opinions that were ascribed to him. Three Latin Priests, *Avitus*, *Vitalis*, and *Orosius*, were sent for to know what had been done in *Africa* against *Celestius*. *Orosius* was then at *Bethlehem*, studying († as he himself says) at the feet of *St. Jerom*, to whom

* *Usser.*
Brit. Eccl.
Ant. p. 125.

* *De Lib.*
Arbit. pag.
621. Edit.
Mogunt. in
8vo.

St. *Augustin* had recommended him. Forasmuch as he happen'd to be in *Africa* when *Celestius* was Condemned there, he told the Assembly of *Jerusalem*, with what Zeal that of *Carthage* had Condemned that Heretick, and that St. *Augustine* had wrote a Book against *Pelagius*; and besides, confuted the *Queries* of *Celestius*, in a Letter sent to *Sicily*. Having that Letter about him, he offer'd to read it, and read it at the Request of the Assembly. After the reading of it, Bishop *John* desired that *Pelagius* should be introduced. It was permitted, out of Con-
 'nivance (says *Orosius*) either out of respect
 'for the Bishop, or because it was thought
 'necessary that that Prelate should confute
 'him in his Presence. He was asked whe-
 'ther he acknowledged to have taught what
 ' *Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo* had confuted.
 ' He presently answered, *Who's that Au-*
 ' *gustine?* And every one crying out, That
 ' a Man, who blasphemed against a Bishop
 ' by whose Mouth the Lord had preserved
 ' Union in all *Africa*, should not only be
 ' banish'd from that Assembly, but also from
 ' the whole Church; *John* bad him sit in
 ' the middle of the Catholick Priests, though
 ' he was a *Lay-man*, and guilty of Heresie.
 ' Afterwards, he told him, *I am Augustine*;
 ' to the end, that acting as it were in the
 ' Name of that Offended Bishop, he might
 more

' more freely forgive *Pelagius*, and allay
 ' the exasperated Minds. We told him then
 ' (*says Orosius*,) *If you represent here the*
 ' *Person of Augustine, follow his Opinions.*
 ' He replied, by asking us whether we
 ' believed that what was read concerned
 ' any body else, or *Pelagius* ? If it be
 ' against *Pelagius*, say (*added he*) what
 ' you have to propole against him. I an-
 ' swer'd, by the Assembly's leave, That *Pe-*
 ' *lagius* had told me, he maintained that
 ' Man might be without Sin, and easily
 ' observe all the Commands of God, if he
 ' would. *Pelagius* confest that it was his
 ' Opinion. Whereupon I said, that this was
 ' the very thing which the Bishops of *Africa*
 ' had condemned in *Celestius*, which *Augustin*
 ' declared in his Writings to be a horrible
 ' Doctrine, and which *Jerom* had rejected
 ' in his Epistle to *Ctesiphon*, and confuted in
 ' some Dialogues which he was then wri-
 ' ting. But the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, with-
 ' out hearkening to any of those things,
 ' would have us to prosecute *Pelagius* be-
 ' fore him. *We are not* (*answered we*) *the*
 ' *Accusers of that Man ; but we declare to*
 ' *you, what your Brethren and our Fathers*
 ' *have judg'd and decreed concerning that*
 ' *Herefie, which a Lay-Man publishes now,*
 ' *lest he should disturb, without your know-*
 ' *ing of it, your Church, into the Bosom of*

The History of Pelagianism.

' which we are come. Then, that he might en-
 ' gage us to be in a manner Accusers, he be-
 ' gan to cite what the Lord said to *Abraham*,
 ' *Walk before me, and be without spot* : And
 ' what was said of *Zacharias & Elizabeth*, That
 ' they were both righteous before God, and walked
 ' in all the Commandments of the Lord blame-
 ' less. Many of us knew that this was an Ob-
 ' servation of *Origen* : And I answer'd him,
 ' *We are Children of the Catholick Church.*
 ' *Father, don't require of us that we should*
 ' *undertake to set up for Teachers, above the*
 ' *Teachers ; nor for Judges, above the Judges.*
 ' *Our Fathers, whose Conduct the Universal*
 ' *Church approves, and in whose Communion*
 ' *you rejoyce to see us, have declared that those*
 ' *Doctrines are condemnable. 'Tis just, we*
 ' *should obey their Decrees. Why d'ye ask*
 ' *Children what they think, when you know*
 ' *the Opinions of their Fathers ?*

- ' The Bishop said afterwards, that if *Pe-*
 ' *lagius* maintained, that Man may be with-
 ' out Sin, without God's Help, it would be
 ' a condemnable Doctrine ; but that he de-
 ' nied not God's Assistance, and asked what
 ' we had to say to that ? whether we denied
 ' the Necessity of that Assistance ? We an-
 ' swered to it, by pronouncing *Anathema*
 ' to those who denied it ; and we cried out,
 ' that he was a *Latin* Heretick ; that we
 ' were *Latins* ; that he ought to be judged
 ' by

‘ by the *Latins*; and that ’twas almost a piece
 ‘ of Impudence in him to pretend to judge
 ‘ of it, since we were not Accusers. Be-
 ‘ cause he said that I was the only Witness
 ‘ against *Pelagius*, and that I was suspected;
 ‘ some of the Company thought themselves
 ‘ obliged to say, that the same Person could
 ‘ not be a Heretick, an Advocate and a
 ‘ Judge at the same time. ’Twas concluded;
 ‘ that *Pelagius* should be referred to the
 ‘ Judgment of *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, and
 ‘ in the mean time should be silent.

Thus that Assembly acted, in which *Pelagius*, who understood only *Latin*, spoke by an Interpreter with the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who understood only *Greek*. A Synod was held at *Diospolis* in *Palestine*, towards the end of the same Year 415, where Fourteen Bishops met. *Eros* and *Lazarus*, Bishops of the *Gaules*, had delivered to *Eulogus* Archbishop of *Cæsarea* an Accusation in Writing against *Pelagius*; but they could not come to that Synod, because one of ’em fell sick in his Journey. *Pelagius* appeared in it, and answer’d the several Accusations laid on him; so that the Council acquitted him, and even approved of his Doctrine, according to the Interpretations he put upon it. Here’s in a few words an Account of the whole Matter.

* *Pelagius* was accused of maintaining the following Propositions;

I. That

* *Aug. de Gest. Palest. Syn.*

1. *That none can be without Sin, without knowing the Law.* He answered, That he meant only by it, that the Law was a help to avoid Sin; not that such a Knowledge was sufficient not to Sin.

2. *That all Men are led by their Will.* He owned that Proposition, by saying, That though Man hath a Free-Will; yet when he chuses well, 'tis by God's Assistance.

3. *That in the Day of Judgment, God will not forgive the Wicked and Sinners.* That's, said Pelagius, the Doctrine of the Gospel.

4. *That Evil doth not so much as come into one's Thoughts.* He assured, he had only said, That Christians should endeavour to have no ill Thoughts.

5. *That the Kingdom of Heaven is promised in the Old Testament.* This he maintained by Dan. vii. 18.

6. *That Man may be without Sin, if he will.* Pelagius said, That he had maintained, that this was possible by the Grace of God; but, that he never taught, that any Man had lived without Sin from his Childhood to his Old Age. He also denied, that he had maintained some other Doctrines, of which he was accused. Whereupon he was ask'd, whether he did not Anathematize those who were of that Opinion? *Anathematize*

size 'em (said he) as *Fools*, not as *Hereticks*; for what they say is not a *Doctrine*.

7. He was accused of maintaining the Opinions which had been condemned at *Carthage*, which have been before mention'd; and besides, *That a Child may be saved without Baptism*. He replied, by denying that he ever taught any thing after the manner it was reported, especially that ever he said, that those who lived before Christ, have been without Sin.

8. Some places which were said to be extracted out of *Celestius* his Books, were proposed to him; but he said he could not warrant what another had writ, and that he anathematized those who maintained Propositions so worded. Amongst other Propositions, this was one of 'em, *That Sinners who repent, obtain the Forgiveness of their Sins, not by the Grace and Mercy of God, but according to their Merits and Penitence*. Perhaps, this was only a Consequence drawn from *Celestius*'s Opinions; for in this whole Controversie, both Parties ascribed to one another well or ill drawn Consequences, as exprefs and formal Doctrines. Besides, those Propositions which *Eros* and *Lazarus* extracted out of the Books of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, being separated from the Series of the Discourse, might have

have a sense contrary to that which they had in those Books.

The Council having approved all his Answers, declared him worthy of the Communion of the Catholick Church. But the Enemies of *Pelagius* accused him of having concealed his true Opinions, and deceived those Greek Bishops, to whom he spoke only by an Interpreter. St. *Augustine* says that *Pelagius* his Answers * were Orthodox, as the Fathers of the Council understood 'em, not as *Pelagius* did. But those who have not so bad an Opinion of *Pelagius* as he had, observe, that St. *Augustine*, who understood not the Greek, could not know, by his own knowledge, the Opinions of the Greek Church concerning that Matter. If he had been able to read those Fathers, say they, he would have found that they spake not otherwise than † *Pelagius*, as may be seen by an infinite number of Places out of St. *Chrysostom*, and St. *Isidorus* of *Damietta*, his Disciple, whom some late Authors have openly accused of *Pelagianism*. Therefore 'tis not to be wonder'd, that Greek Bishops should approve the Language of that *English* Monk.

Before the Acts of that Council were published, *Pelagius* wrote to a Friend of his, that his Opinions had been approved in it, and

* De Gest.
Palest. Syn.
c. 1, 2.

† Vid. Bull.
Harm. A-
post. Diff. 2.
c. 7. §. 14.
Ex. Exam.
Cens. p. 157.

and made his Letter publick. He also made a kind of an Apology for that Council, in the Year 416, which he sent to the Bishop of *Hippo*, who having received no other from *Palestine*, durst not trust it. He, together with some other *African* Bishops, wrote to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to have the very Acts of the Council of *Diospolis*. In the mean time, *St. Jerom*, who had written against the *Pelagians*, and especially against the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, occasion'd a Disorder which happen'd at *Bethlehem*, where a Deacon was kill'd, and some Monasteries were burnt. The Bishop was accused of having stirred that Tumult; but they had not time enough to bring him to an account for it, because he died the same Year. *St. Jerom*, having also offended the Bishops of *Palestine*, by despising their Assemblies, thought the best way to maintain himself, was to rely upon the Friendship of those of *Africa*, though he was not of their Opinion in every thing, being of that of the *Semi-Pelagians*, of whom I shall speak in the Sequel of this History. Wherefore he wrote to *St. Augustin*, in these terms; "I am
" resolved to love, honour, respect and
" admire you, and to defend what you say,
" as if I had said it: *Mibi decretum est*
te amare, te suspicere, te colere, te mirari,
tuaque dicta quasi mea defendere.

Pelagius

* Petav. de
Pelag. c. 2,
Etc,

Pelagius was accused every where of denying altogether the Assistance of Grace. To justify himself, he wrote a Book concerning Free-Will, where he shewed, that he * acknowledged six sorts of Grace.

First, 'Tis a *Grace of God*, according to *Pelagius*, to have a Rational and Free Soul; that is to say, which may obey or not obey God, without being unavoidably determin'd either to the one or the other. *Pelagius* maintained, that all Men were born in that state; so that if they applied themselves to Evil, it was not by an Unavoidable Necessity, but by an ill use of their Liberty. *St. Augustine* maintained, First, That what we receive from God by Creation, ought not to be called a *Grace*, on this occasion, but only what we receive from him, by virtue of our Redemption. But that's only a Dispute about Words. Besides, *St. Augustine* denied that Men are born otherwise than unavoidably determined to do Ill; and said, that 'twas impossible for them to do any Good, without an extraordinary Assistance of God, which he only bestowed upon some; and that those who had not that Assistance, were unavoidably enclined to Evil. Thus, though he admitted of the Name of *Free-Will*, he put a new sence upon those words; since *Freedom*, in his Opinion, is only a meer *Spotanetzy*, and doth

doth not imply a Power of not doing what one doth. The difference therefore that was between *St. Augustin* and *Pelagius* in this Matter, is, that the former believed, that since the Fall of *Adam*, Men are so corrupted, that they are born with ill Habits, which do necessarily encline them to do Evil; That if God would encline them to Good, he must bestow upon them, for every Good Action, a Grace, which makes 'em unavoidably willing to do Good: And further, That those to whom he gave not that Grace, were Damnd; God, by a Wisdom which we do not comprehend, being willing that Mankind should be born with an unavoidable Necessity of Offending him, and of being afterwards tormented with Everlasting Punishments, without freeing from that dismal Necessity but a very small number of Persons, upon whom he bestows an Irresistible Grace. *St. Augustine* believed that this was to give God the Glory due to him. *Pelagius*, on the contrary, believed that God had not permitted that *Adam's* Sin should cause so great a Disorder in the World; that those who descended from him, should not be able still to obey or not obey God's Law, who gave their Souls the power of avoiding Evil, and doing Good; so that they were Damned only by their Fault, without being bound to Sin
and

* Uffer.
p. 141. ubi
sup.

and Everlasting Misery by any unavoidable Necessity. Having received a Free-Will from God, 'twas not necessary that God should interpose in every Action. * *To be able to do Good* (said Pelagius) *comes from God, who gave it to his Creature; but to be willing to do Good, and to practice Vertue, depends on Man.*

The Second Grace, which Pelagius acknowledged, is the *Forgiveness of Past Sins*, which God grants to those who mend their Lives. Pelagius Anathematized, in the Council of *Diospolis*, whosoever durst say that God hath any respect to *Merits* on this occasion. St. *Augustine* complains, that Pelagius, being content to acknowledge that God freely forgives us our Past Sins, confest not that he helps us to abstain from them hereafter. But Pelagius maintain'd that that Forgiveness helped us to do our Duty for the time to come, seeing we cannot betake our selves to serve God when we have offended him, but by being persuaded that he will freely forgive us what is past. He further said, that as to those Sins which were committed in the very time of Penitence, that is, in the state of Regeneration, they were forgiven us, in consideration of our Good Works, by which we also come to Glory. And in that sence he maintained that Grace is given according to Merits, that

that is, according to Good Works. Forasmuch as Children, before the use of Reason, commit no Sin, they are not concerned in that kind of Grace.

The *Third Grace* (according to *Pelagius*) is the *Law*, that is to say, the Preaching of the Gospel, and the Example of *Jesus Christ*, which those who lived under the Old Dispensation had not. He said, that this Grace was altogether necessary, to live like Christians.

The *Fourth* sort of Grace, is an *Inward Illumination of our Minds*, which *Pelagius* exprest thus : * ‘ I maintain, that Grace
‘ doth not only consist in the Law, but in
‘ the Assistance of God, &c. Now, God
‘ assists us by his Doctrine and Revelation,
‘ by opening the Eyes of our Hearts ; by
‘ shewing us things to come, to hinder us
‘ from being too much taken up with present things ; by discovering to us the
‘ Snares of the Devil ; by enligthning us with
‘ the various and unspeakable Gifts of his
‘ Heavenly Grace. Do you think (adds
‘ *Pelagius*) that those who speak thus, deny
‘ the Grace of God ? Do they not rather
‘ acknowledge both Free-Will and the Grace
‘ of God together ? — St. *Augustine* accuses *Pelagius*, on this occasion, not of having positively denied Grace, but of having denied the Necessity of it ; and said, that
God

* *Apud Aug*
lib. de Grat.
Chr. c. 7.

God did only give it, that Free-Will might the more easily encline to Good. That Grace, according to *Pelagius*, doth not infallibly and by it self produce the Will of Doing Good, and Good Works, but only inclines to be more easily Willing.

The *Fifth* is, the *Grace of Baptism*, by which, according to him, although Children receive not the Forgiveness of Sins, which they have not committed, being, according to *Pelagius*, altogether Innocent, yet they enter into a better state, which consists in their being thereby adopted by God, and becoming Heirs of the Heavenly Kingdom. On the contrary, *St. Augustine* maintained, that Children being born Sinners, Baptism confers upon them the Forgiveness of Sin, and sanctifies them by a Grace which God hath annexed to it.

Lastly, The *Sixth* Grace consists, according to *Pelagius*, in *Eternal Life*, and the *Kingdom of Heaven*. He is accused of having distinguished those two things; and said, that *Eternal Life* might be obtained without the Revelation of the Gospel, but that God gave the *Kingdom of Heaven* only to those who were Baptized. According to *Pelagius*, that Grace was given consequently to *Merits*, that is to say, a Good Life. 'Tis a hard matter to know wherein that Distinction of *Eternal Life* and *Kingdom of Heaven*

Heaven did consist, and to reconcile it with the Accusation raised against *Pelagius*, that the Kingdom of Heaven was promised under the Old Testament. St. *Augustin* said upon this last Article, that if by the Old Testament the *Legal Covenant* was understood, it did not promise Eternal Life; but if all the Books of the Old Testament were understood by it, 'twas true, that it was promised therein, although the *Kingdom of Heaven* is not mention'd in them, that Phrase belonging to the New Testament.

There was never a Dispute more intricate than this, because each Party being urged with some troublesome Consequences, endeavoured to get rid of them with the help of some Terms, upon which they put a Sense different from that which they had in the Mouth of their Adversaries. The word *Grace*, when used by *Pelagius*, did not signify the same thing as when used by the Bishop of *Hippo*, and the latter gave the Name of *Liberty* to a thing which was not ordinarily so called. In short, several People believe, that if the chief Words that have been used in that Controversie, and the Idea's that have been fixed to 'em, were examined, it would be found, that there is scarce any of those Idea's that is very di-

A a

stinct

distinct, so as to know perfectly the meaning of a Word to which one of those Ideas is fixed, when 'tis pronounced. Nay, there is, in their opinion, some of those words to which no Idea at all hath been fixed: so that in some parts of that Dispute, both Parties do in a manner imitate a *Frenchman* and an *Arabian*, who knowing only their Mother-Tongue, should speak by turns as loud as they could, and sometimes both at one time, without understanding one another, and should afterwards boast each of them of having overcome his Adversary.

Thus we have seen wherein the Opinions of *Pelagius* and his Adversaries, concerning *Grace*, did chiefly consist. As to *Election*, it seems that *Pelagius* believed Two sorts of it; the one to *Grace*, and the other to *Glory*. God was resolved, as he thinks, to call certain Persons to the Knowledge of the Gospel, to make the way to Everlasting Happiness more easie for them. That's Predestination to *Grace*. God resolves afterwards to save those whom he hath foreseen should persevere to the end in a good use of those *Graces*. That's Predestination to *Glory*, which is grounded upon Merit, whereas the other is altogether Free. *St. Augustine*, Disputing
against

against *Pelagius*, confounded (as * *Petavius* * *Pag. 614.* *ibid.* thinks) those two Predestinations, and made but one of them ; because, according to him, all those who have received the Means necessary in order to Salvation, do infallibly come to it. Hence it is that he doth so loudly exclaim against those who maintain Predestination according to Works ; as if they meant Predestination to *Grace*, whereas they understood it only of Predestination to *Glory*.

The next Year after the Council of *Diospolis*, that is, in 415. two Councils met in *Africa* concerning the same Matter, the one at *Carthage*, and the other at *Milevum*. *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* presided in the First, where there was Sixty seven Bishops. The Acts of *Diospolis* had not yet been received in *Africa* ; but *Eros* and *Lazarus* had writ what pass'd there, and sent their Letter by *Orosius*, who returned from *Palestine* to *Africa*. It was Resolved, upon that Report, to Anathematize the Opinions of *Pelagius*, lest they should spread ; and to Anathematize him afterwards, together with *Celestius* his Disciple, if they did not clearly condemn those Errors. Afterwards they sent the Acts of the Council to Pope *Innocent*, to engage him to condemn the same Opinions. The

Council of *Milevum*, made up of Sixty one Bishops, in which *Sylvanus* Primate of *Nu-midia* presided, did the same with that of *Carthage*. Besides the Synodal Letters of those two Councils, *Innocent* received some private ones from some Bishops of *Africa*, among whom was St. *Augustine*. The Design of those Letters was the same with that of the foregoing, viz. to oblige *Innocent* to condemn the Doctrine ascribed to *Pelagius*, and to summon him to appear, to know whether he continued to maintain it. Wherefore they intimated, that *Pelagius* had perhaps deceived the Bishops of *Palestine*, tho' they durst not assure it positively, for fear of setting the Churches of *Africa* against those of the *East*. The next Year (417.) *Innocent* wrote an Answer to the two Councils, and the Bishops who wrote to him in private. He said that he believed *Pelagius* and *Celestius* deserved to be Excommunicated, and that the former could not have cleared himself at *Diospolis*, but by Equivocations, and obscure Expressions. Notwithstanding, having not yet received any certain News from that Country, and knowing not well how things were done there, he says he can neither approve nor disapprove the Conduct of the Bishops of *Palestine*. He also excuses himself, with respect
to

to the summoning of *Pelagius*, because of the Distance of Places. *Innocent* wrote those Letters in the Beginning of the Year, and died soon after; seeing the Tenth of *March*, in *Beda's Martyrology*, is mark'd for the Day of his Death.

After the Death of *Innocent*, * *St. Augustine* * Vid. v. and *Alypius* wrote to *St. Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, to exhort him to oppose *Pelagianism* ser ubi sup. c. 10. in *Italy*, if it was like to make any progress in it. In the mean time, *Celestius*, who returned from *Asia*, whither he was gone, after he had stay'd some time in *Sicily*, went of his own motion to *Zosimus*, born in *Cappadocia*, and Successor of *Innocent*. He delivered into his hands a little Writing, in which he explained his Belief.

He mention'd therein all the Articles of Faith, from that of the Holy Trinity, to that of the Resurrection from the Dead, and declared that he held the Doctrine of the Catholick Church concerning all those Articles. To which he added afterwards, That if some Disputes were started up concerning some things which were not of Faith, he had not assumed to himself the Authority of forming any settled

Doctrines out of them; but that he offered to the Examination and Judgment of *Zosimus* what he had taken out of the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles concerning those Matters, to be corrected, if there was any Error in it. — Lastly, He explained the Doctrines which I have before mention'd, and expressly denied that Men are born Sinners.

Zosimus summon'd *Celestius* to appear before him in St. *Clemens's* Church, where he caused that Writing to be read, and asked the Author whether he truly believed what he said in it. *Celestius* assured it; and then *Zosimus* asked him several questions, which amounted to these two; Whether he condemn'd the Doctrines of which *Paulinus* Deacon of *Carthage* had accused him? To which he answered, That he was able to prove that that *Paulinus* was a Heretick, and he would not condemn the Propositions of which he had accused him. The other Question which *Zosimus* asked him, was, Whether he condemned not what Pope *Innocent* had condemned? and whether he would not follow the Sentiments of the Church of *Rome*? *Celestius* answered, he would.

After

After those Formalities, *Zosimus* wrote a pretty long Letter to the Bishops of *Africa*, wherein he tells 'em after what manner *Celestius* had appeared before him, and how he was examin'd. Afterwards, he reproaches them with having acted in that Affair with too great a Precipitancy (*Ferwore fidei præfestinatum esse*) and with having too slightly believed some general Reports and certain Letters of *Eros* and *Lazarus*, without being very sure of their Sincerity. However, he did not take away the Excommunication which the Bishops of *Africa* had pronounced against *Celestius*.

Forasmuch as at that time the Judgment of a Synod, and even of a Bishop, especially of that of *Rome*, was of great moment; and because *Zosimus* was afterwards accused of having Prevaricated, by condemning *Pelagius*, after he had approved of his Doctrine: * *St. Augustine* endeavoured to put as handsom a varnish as he could upon *Zosimus's* Conduct, as if that Pope grew milder with respect to *Celestius*, only out of Pity; and thinking that *Celestius* having advanced his Opinions only to be better instructed, they could not be ascribed to him as his settled Doctrine, and

* *De Pec. Orig. cap. 5, 6, 7.*

even that it would be no difficult Matter to convert him.

In a word, *Zosimus* (according to *St. Augustine*) had only approved in *Celestius*, (who was a very ingenious Man, and who being corrected, might be serviceable to many others) the Will of Mending his Opinions, not the Falsity of his Doctrine :

* *Ad Bonif.* * *In homine acerrimi ingenii, qui profecto si corrigeretur plurimis profuisset, voluntas emendationis, non falsitas Dogmatis approbata est.* But the learned *Vossius* (says

† *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* † *Bishop Usher*) hath shewed, a great while ago, that that great Bishop sweats to no purpose to hide the Bunch of *Zosimus* with his Purple. It cannot be doubted, after the reading of the Letters which he wrote to the Bishops of *Africa*, that he did favour not only *Celestius*, but *Pelagius*, as being Catholicks, without having ever departed from the True Faith.

Zosimus having sent his Letter into *Africa*, received from *Palestine* a Packet directed to *Innocent*, whose Death they knew not yet. It contained some Letters of *Praxius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and an Apology of *Pelagius*, with a little Book, wherein

wherein he explained his Opinions very clearly, as it will appear by the reading of it. *Praylus* did openly side with *Pelagius*, and *Zosimus* caused those Letters and Writings to be publicly read, which were approved by every Body, as *Zosimus* wrote it a little while after to the Bishops of *Africa*: 'Would to God (*says he to them*) 'my most Beloved Brethren, that some of 'you had been at the reading of those Letters! How great was the Joy of the 'Holy Men who were present at it? In 'how great an Admiration were they All? 'Some of them could scarce forbear shedding Tears. Is it possible that Men, 'whose Belief is so pure, could be so startled? Is there any place in their Writings in which they do not mention the 'Assistance and Grace of God?

Besides, he condemned, in that Letter, *Eros* and *Lazarus*, Accusers of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, as Men guilty of great Crimes, *Erubescenda factis & damnationibus nomina*, and spoke with great contempt of the others, who had prosecuted him.

Yet the Bishops of *Africa* had no regard to those Letters: Two hundred and fourteen of them met together at *Carthage*, and
con-

condemned a new *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, till they would acknowledge the Necessity of Grace, in the same sense it was taught in *Africa*, without using any Shift, as they had done hitherto.

That Assembly met in the Beginning of the Year 418, and sent its Constitutions with a Letter to *Zosimus*, wherein those Bishops exhorted him to proceed against *Pelagius*, agreeably to their Constitutions. Their Letter had the Effect they wished for; and *Zosimus* and his Clergy, who had admired the Writings of *Pelagius*, wherein he very clearly exprest his Opinions, ' Being attentive (as *St. Augustine* relates it) ' to what the *Romans*, whose Faith is to be ' praised in the Lord, believed concerning ' it; they saw, that all their Opinions, ' which agreed with one another, were full ' of ardour for the Catholick Truth, against ' the Error of *Pelagius*. — However, when *Zosimus* condemned him, he spoke not so eagerly as he did when he gave Sentence in his Behalf, (as may be seen in Bishop *Usher*.)

The Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius* received also the Acts of the Council of *Africa*, and thought themselves obliged to main-

maintain them by their Authority, by making an Edict which they sent to the Three *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*, to be publish'd through the whole Empire, by which they banish'd *Pelagius* and *Celestius* from *Rome*, and also condemned to a perpetual Banishment and Confiscation of Estates all those who should maintain their Doctrine, where-ever they might be, authorising all manner of Persons to Accuse them.

The *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* added to that Imperial Law particular Edicts, one of which is still extant in the * *Centuriators of* *Magdeburg*. 'Tis *Palladius's* Edict, and it runs thus; If he who is fallen into the infamous Opinion of that Dark Heresie be Lay-Man or a Clergy-Man, by whomsoever he be drawn before the Judge, and without minding the Accuser, his Estate shall be confiscated, and he shall be condemned to perpetual Banishment: *Et si sit ille Plebeius ac Clericus, qui in Caliginis hujus obscæna reciderit, à quocunque tractus ad Judicem, sine Accusatricis discretione Personæ, facultatem publicatione nudatus irrevocabile patietur exilium.*

* Tom. 5.
Col. 849.

Some

Some will suspect that that Edict, express'd in words so Emphatical, was penn'd by a zealous Clergy-Man; but 'tis nothing, if compared with that of the Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, which may be seen at large in * Bishop *Usher*.

* *Ubi sup.*
p. 151.

Those who know the Style of the Preachers of that time, will easily believe that it required a long Experience, to begin an Imperial Edict with these Terms, which I shall not undertake to translate into French. *Ad conturbandam, Catholicæ simplicitatis Lucem, puro semper splendore radiantem, dolosæ artis ingenio, novam subito emicuisse versutiam, pervulgatâ opinione cognovimus; quæ fallaci scientiæ obumbrata mendaciis, & furioso tantum debacchata luctamine, stabilem quietem cælestis conatur attrectare fidei; dum novi acuminis commendata vento, insignem notam Plebeicæ æstimationis sentire cum cunctis, ac prudentiæ singularis palmain fore, communiter approbata destruere, &c.* The rest runs in the same strain; and one may see thereby, that in *Honorius's* time, the *Spiritual Exhortations* to convert the Hereticks, were not very different from those that have been made use of in these latter Times.

In the mean time, the same Bishops of *Africa* who had condemn'd *Pelagius*, knowing nothing yet of the Emperor's Edict dated from the last Day of *April*, met again the next Day at *Carthage*, and Anathematized those who should say,

1. That the First Man was Mortal by his Nature.

2. That Little Children ought not to be Baptized, or that they may be Baptized, although they are not infected with *Adam's Sin*.

3. That the Grace by which we are Justified, serves only for the Forgiveness of Sins, and is not an Assistance to abstain from them for the time to come.

4. That Grace helps us, only by teaching us our Duty, and produces not the Obedience it self.

5. That Grace is given us, that we may more easily do by its means, what we should do with greater difficulty without it.

6. That 'tis only out of Humility that we are all obliged to say that we are Sinners.

7. That every one is not obliged to say *Forgive us our Sins* for himself, but only for others who are Sinners.

8. That

8. That the Saints are obliged to say the same words only out of Humility.

It seems that that Council intended not only to condemn the Opinions of *Pelagius*, but also to anathematize before-hand those who should fall into some Opinions which should have some relation with his. For one may easily perceive, that according to his Principles, he might have altogether denied the Four last Propositions. He did not believe that Grace did only teach us our Duty, nor that any Man had lived without Sin, except *Jesus Christ*.

But it hath always been the Custom of Councils to anathematize such Errors as no body maintained; when they condemned the true Opinions of the Heterodox; perhaps to inspire a greater horror for Heresie, and lest any one should be so rash as to protect Hereticks. Thus (as * *St. Augustine* speaks) by the Vigilance of the Episcopal Councils, with the Assistance of the Saviour who defends his Church (and that of the Imperial Edicts,) *Pelagius* and *Celestius* were condemned through the whole Christian World, unless they should repent.

* Ep. 157.

In the mean time *Pelagius*, who was at *Jerusalem* still, being urged to it by *Pinnianus* and *Melanins*, published a Declaration as to what concerns the Necessity of Grace, which he acknowledged to be necessary in every Act and at every Moment. He also said, That with respect to Baptism, he was of the same Opinion which he had set down in his Profession of Faith to Pope *Innocent*, viz. That Children ought to be Baptized as they were wont to be. But whatever he might say, they did not believe that he understood what he said, in the same Sense as the Church of *Africa*. In the mean time *Julian* Bishop of *Celena* in *Campania*, published some Commentaries upon the *Song of Solomon*, a Book concerning *Constancy*, and four Books against the first of *St. Augustin*, *De Concupiscentia & Nuptiis*, wherein he maintained the Opinions of *Pelagius*. In the last of those Works, he openly called the Bishops of *Africa* *Seditious Men* and *Innovators*; and said, that they must needs not have Reason on their side, since in the Dispute they frightened those who dared oppose them, with Imperial Edicts; but that by such Proceedings they persuaded not Understanding but Timorous Men. * *Labo*

rare illam partem rationis inopiam, que in differendo

* *Ap. Aug. cont. Jul. lib. 3. c. 1.*

differendo cum terrorem Surrogat, nullam à prudentibus impetrat, sed cæcum à meticulis extorquet assensum. He accused *Zozimus* of having prevaricated, by condemning *Pelagius* after he had approved his Opinions: And with respect to the Councils of *Africa*, he said, ‘That those who had been
 ‘condemned in them, could not defend
 ‘their Cause; That none is able to judge
 ‘well of controverted Matters, unless he
 ‘examines them with a Mind free from
 ‘Hatred, Friendship, Enmity and Anger;
 ‘and that the Bishops of *Africa* were not
 ‘in that Disposition, seeing they hated the
 ‘Opinions of *Pelagius* before they were acquainted with them; That Advices ought
 ‘not to be numbred but weighed; and in
 ‘short, Whatever is commonly objected
 ‘against the Judgment of Great Assemblies.

A New Council made up of 217 Bishops was held at *Carthage* in the Year 419. wherein whatever was done in the foregoing against *Pelagius* was confirmed, and indeed, to use the Terms of *St. Prosper*, in his Poem *de Ingratis*,

*An alium in finem posset procedere Sanctum
 Concilium, cui Dux Aurelius, ingeniumque
 Augustinus erat?*

But

But the Episcopal Authority was again upheld in this occasion by that of the Emperors, who, by a Letter directed to *Aurelius*, confirmed their precedeing Edict, and ordered, * ' That if any one * *Usser. ubi sup. p. 161.*
' knew in what part of the Empire *Pelagius* and *Celestius* lay hid, and did
' not discover 'em, or presently drive
' 'em from it, they should be liable to
' the same Punishment as Hereticks.
' And in order to correct the Obstinacy
' of some Bishops, who maintained, by
' a tacit consent, those who disputed in
' the behalf of Heresie, or did not de-
' stroy it by publickly assaulting it, *Au-*
' *relius* should take care to Depose those
' who would not subscribe to the Con-
' demnation of *Pelagianism*; and that
' they should be Excommunicated and
' Banished.

Aurelius received Orders to publish that Edict through all *Africa*; and he did punctually perform them, sending a Circular Letter to the Bishops of the *Byzacene* and *Arzugitane* Provinces, by which he exhorted to subscribe to the Acts of the last Council both those who had assisted at it, and those who could not come to it, that it might appear

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that there was in the Bishops ' neither
' Dissimulation nor Negligence, or lest
' perhaps there might remain some just
' Suspicion of some hidden Heresie.

The Bishops who were of *Pelagius's* Opinion, had much ado to subscribe to the Acts, and Eighteen of them wrote to the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, to endeavour to get the Eastern Bishops on their side. To engage them the more easily to it, they accused their Adversaries of *Manicheism*; because the *Manicheans* maintained also the unavoidable Necessity of Sin, and the Natural Corruption of Man.

That Accusation was so much the more odious, because *St. Augustine*, the chief Defender of those Opinions, had been infected in his Youth with the Opinions of *Manes*; and because having abjured them, he had confuted them by the same Principles which the *Pelagians* used, which he afterwards forsook when he came to be a Bishop.

On the other hand, *Julian* wrote to *Rome*, and *Celestius* went to *Constantinople* in the Year 419, to endeavour to
get

get Friends there. But after the before-mention'd Imperial Edicts, 'twas not likely they should be successful in it. *Celestius* was ill received by *Atticus*, who had succeeded *Arsacius* substituted to *St. Chrysostom*, who died soon after.

The *Pelagians* were also ill treated (as *St. Prosper* relates it) at *Ephesus*, and in *Sicily*: And *Constantius*, whom *Honorius* had made Partner of the Empire, made, in the Year 420, an Edict like that of that Prince, against those who should conceal *Celestius*.

St. Jerom died that Year; and *St. Augustine* wrote his Four Books dedicated to *Boniface*, Successor of *Zosimus*; and Six against *Julian*, dedicated to *Claudius*. He makes the *Encomium* of *St. Jerom* in them, and assures us that he was of the same Opinion with the Bishops of *Africa*, in all likelihood because he wrote against the *Pelagians*, though he made not use of the same Arguments with *St. Augustine*.

* *St. Jerom* said, ' That God's Com- * *Lib. 1. in*
' mands are possible, but that every *Pelag.*
' one cannot do whatever is possible;

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‘ not by any Weakness of Nature, which
 ‘ would be a Reflection upon God, but
 ‘ by the Custom of the Soul, which
 ‘ cannot have all Vertues always and
 ‘ at the same time : *Possibilia præcepit
 Deus, sed hæc possibilia cuncta singuli
 habere non possumus, non imbecillitate
 Naturæ, ut calumniam facias Deo, sed
 animi assuetudine, qui cunctas simul
 & semper non potest habere vir-
 tutes.*

St. *Augustin* was so far from being
 of that Opinion, that in 191 Sermon
de Tempore, he speaks thus ; ‘ We de-
 ‘ test the Blasphemy of those who say
 ‘ that God hath commanded Man any
 ‘ thing that is impossible ; and that
 ‘ Gods Commands cannot be observed
 ‘ by every one in particular, but by
 ‘ All in common : *Execramur blas-
 phemiam eorum qui dicunt impossibile ali-
 quid homini à Deo esse præceptum, &
 mandata Dei non à singulis, sed ab om-
 nibus in commune posse servari.* —

Here we must supply, *By the Assistance
 of Grace.*

* *Usser. ubi* Whilst * *Pelagius* lay hid in the *East*,
sup. c. 11. and kept silence, *Julian* wrote Eight
 Books

Books against the Second of St. *Augustine de Concupiscentia & Nuptiis*, having refuted the First in the Four Books above-mention'd. St. *Augustine* undertook to Answer the Last Work of *Julian*, as he had answered the First; but he could not finish his Answer, being prevented by Death. We have Two Books of his with the Two Books of *Julian* which he confutes, printed at *Paris* by the care of *Claudius Menard*, in the Year 1616. *Julian* exprest his Mind boldly in those Books, and seems, by his giving the Adversaries of *Pelagius* ill Words, to have been willing to take his revenge of the severe Edicts which they had obtained against him. But his Conduct proved prejudicial to him, seeing *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome* caused him to be banished out of *Italy*, together with *Florus*, *Orentius*, *Fabius*, and all the Bishops of the same Party.

It appears notwithstanding that *Pelagianism* spread it self maugre its Opposers, seeing the Emperor *Valentinian* publish'd an Edict at *Aquileia*, in the Year 425, to drive it from the *Gauls*, by which he order'd *Patroclus* Bishop of *Arles* to go and see several Bishops

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‘ who followed the Opinions of *Pelagius*, and to let ‘em know, that if
 ‘ they did not retract their Errors
 ‘ within Twenty Days allowed them to
 ‘ deliberate about it, they should be
 ‘ banisht from the *Gauls*, and deprived
 ‘ of their Bishopricks.

Joannes Cassianus, a *Scythian* by Origin, whom some will have to be an *Athenian*, others a *Roman*, and others to be born in the *Gauls*, who had been Deacon of *St. Chrysostome*, and Ordained a Priest by *Innocent I.* having retired to *Marseilles*, betook himself to write some Books then; by which softening a little the Opinions of *Pelagius*, whom he otherwise condemn’d as a Heretick, he gave birth to those Opinions, which went since under the Name of *Semi-Pelagianism*. His Opinions may be seen in his *Collationes*, or Conferences, which *St. Prosper* confuted, and which he maintained to contain meer *Pelagianism*.

Petav. lib.
Laud. c. 7.

* Here’s in a few words what his Opinions may be reduced to.

1. The *Semi-Pelagians* confess that Men are born corrupted, and cannot free themselves from that Corruption but

but by the help of Grace, which is not withstanding prevented by some Motion of the Will, as by a good Desire; whence it is that they said, *Mens est velle credere, Dei autem gratia est adjuvare;* "To be willing to believe depends on me, but 'tis the part of God's Grace to help me. — God, in their Opinion, expects those First Motions from us, and then gives us his Grace.

2. That God invites All Men by his Grace, but that it depends upon Mens freedom to embrace or reject it.

3. That God caused the Gospel to be preached to the Nations which he foresaw should embrace it, and would not have it to be preached to the Nations which he foresaw should reject it.

4. That although he would have all Men to be saved, yet he had only elected to Salvation those whom he foresaw should persevere in Faith and Good Works.

5. That there was no particular Grace absolutely necessary to Salvation, which God gave only to a certain number of

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Men, and that Men could lose all the Graces they had received.

6. That among little Children, who died in that Age, God permitted that those only should be Baptized, who, according to God's Fore-knowledge, would have been Pious Men if they had liv'd; and on the contrary, that those who were to be Wicked, if they had come to a more advanced Age, were excluded from Baptism by Providence.

7. The *Semi-Pelagians* were also accused of making Grace altogether External; so that, in their Opinion, it consisted only in the Preaching of the Gospel. But some of them maintained that there was also an Inward Grace, which *Pelagius* himself did not altogether reject. Some others confest besides, that there is a Preventing Grace.

Thus it seems that the Difference between their Opinions and those of *Pelagius*, consisted in their owning that Men are born in some sort corrupted, and in their insisting more upon the Necessity of Grace, at least in Words.

Although

Although the Difference is not very great, yet they Anathematized *Pelagius*. Which perhaps they did, supposing that *Pelagius* maintained all the Opinions condemned by the Councils of *Africa*. *St. Augustine* accuses them of making the whole Grace of God to consist in Instruction, which concerns only the Understanding; whereas he makes it to consist in a Particular and Inward Working of the Holy Ghost, which unavoidably determines us to Good, and that Determination is not the Effect of the Light we have. The other Opinions of that Father, either contrary to the Doctrine of *Pelagius*, or that of the *Semi-Pelagians*, are well known. One may learn them especially in his Books concerning *Predestination* and *Perseverance*, which he wrote at the Desire of *St. Prosper*, against the *Semi-Pelagians*, and in the Works of this latter.

To return to the History, 'tis said that in the Year 429, one *Agricola* Son of *Severianus* a *Pelagian* Bishop, brought *Pelagianism* into *England*; but *St. German* Bishop of *Auxerre* was sent thither by Pope *Celestinus*, or the Bishops of the *Gauls*, and soon extirpated it. Many
Miracles

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* *Hist. Scot.*
lib. 8.

Miracles are ascribed to him in that Journey, and whilst he staid in *England*, which may be read in Bishop *Usher*. But if what * *Hector Boetius*, a *Scotch* Historian, who liv'd in the beginning of the last Century, says, be true, he used a Method which is not less efficacious for the extirpating of Heresie; 'tis this, the *Pelagians* who would not retract their Errors, were burnt by the care of the *Magistrates*.

But whilst *St. German* was purifying *England*, the Seeds of *Pelagianism* which *Cassianus* had spread among the Monks of *Marseilles*, and in *Gallia Narbonensis*, made it grow in *France*. *St. Prosper* and *Hilary* wrote to *St. Augustine* about it, and let him know that many Clergymen in the *Gauls* look'd upon his Opinions as dangerous Novelties. *St. Augustine* answered their Objections in the Books which I have just now mentioned: But the Toleration which *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Riez*, granted the *Semi-Pelagians*, hindred every body from molesting them, though they shewed a great Aversion to the Doctrine of *St. Augustine*.

Julian

Julian, and the other Bishops, who were banish'd (as I have said) from *Italy*, went to *Constantinople*, where they importun'd the Emperor to be re-establish'd: but because they were accused of Heresie, he would grant 'em nothing, without knowing the Reasons for which they were expell'd.

Nestorius Bishop of *Constantinople* wrote to *Celestinus* about it, who returned him a very sharp Answer, and as if it had not been lawful to enquire for the Reasons of their Condemnation, upbraiding him at the same time with his private Opinions. His Letter is dated the 12th. of *August*, in the Year 430.

St. Augustine died about that time, whose *Encomium's* may be found in Bishop *Usher*, who approves the Praises bestowed upon him by *Fulgentius*, in his Second Book *Of the Truth of Predestination*, wherein he calls him an *Inspired Man*. A little while after his Death, the Letters of *Theodosius*, who call'd him to the Council of *Ephesus*, came to *Africa*, from whence some Bishops were sent to it.

That

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That Council, made up of Two hundred and ten Bishops, met to Condemn *Nestorius*, in the Year 431. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* presided in it; and whilst it sat, *John* Bishop of *Antioch* met, with Thirty other Bishops, who made some Canons opposite to those of that Council. What is singular in it is, that the Party of *Cyril* and that of *John* accused each other of *Pelagianism*; but the greatest Party approved the Deposal of *Julian*, and the other *Italian* Bishops, whom *Nestorius* had treated more mildly. He is accused of having been of their Opinion, and of having maintained that Christ became the Son of God, by reason of the good use he made of his Free-Will; for a Reward whereof, God had united him to the *Eternal Word*. Hence it is that *Pelagianism* and *Nestorianism* were condemned together in that Council.

But notwithstanding all this, and the care of Three Popes, *Celestinus*, *Xystus III.* and *Leo I.* *Semi-Pelagianism* maintained it self in the *Gauls*. Perhaps the manner after which *Celestinus* wrote to the Bishops of *France*, contributed towards it; because although he condemned *Pelagius* with heat, and praised much

St. An-

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St. *Augustine*, yet he said at the end of his Letter, ' That as to what concerned ' the profound and difficult Questions ' which were mixed with that Contro- ' versie, and had been handled at large ' by those who opposed the Hereticks, ' as he durst not despise 'em, he did not ' believe neither that it was necessary to ' determine one's self thereupon.

One may see in * Bishop *Usher*, how * *Ubi sup.* much St. *Prosper*, and the Popes *Xystus* ^{c. 12.} and *Leo*, laboured to confute or destroy *Pelagianism* and *Semi-Pelagianism*. About the same time, *Vincentius Lirinensis* wrote his *Commonitorium*, that is, three Years after the Council of *Ephesus*. He is suspected to be the Author of the Objections which St. *Prosper* confuted, under the Title of *Objectiones Vincentianæ*. His *Commonitory* was re-printed last Year (1687.) in *Twelves*, at *Cambridge*, with *Balufius's* Notes, and St. *Augustine's* Book *de Hæresibus*.

One may also see in † Bishop *Usher* † *Ibid.* the Devastation which the *Scots* and *Picts* made in *England* in that Century, the Arrival of the *Saxons* into that Island, after what manner they made themselves

felves Masters of it, and the other Events of that Time.

Vid. Uffer.
ubi sup.
c. 13.

Before * those Misfortunes happen'd in *England*, a Monk whose Name was *Faustus* went from that Countrey into *Gallia Narbonensis*, where he became Abbot of *Lerins*, and afterwards Bishop of *Riez* after *Maximus*, to whom he had also succeeded in the Abbey of *Lerins*. He assisted at a Council held at *Rome* towards the End of the Year 462, wherein it was agreed that a Council should be held every Year in the *Gauls*, which should be convoked by the Archbishop of *Arles*. There was one held a little while after in that City, which ordered *Faustus* to declare his Opinions concerning the Matter of *Grace*; and another at *Lyons*, by the Order of which he added something to what he had already written, because some new Errors had been discovered. Those Errors are those to which the Divines of *Marseilles* gave the Name of *Predestinarian* Heresie, which some maintain to have been a true Heresie, and others the Opinion of *St. Augustine*.

We

We have no more the Acts of those two Synods, but *Faustus's* Work is still extant; it is entitled *De Gratia & Libero Arbitrio*, directed to *Leontius* Bishop of *Arles*, and contains very clearly the *Semi-Pelagianism*. *Erasmus* printed it for the first time at *Basil*, in 1528, and it was since inserted into the Eighth Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Faustus sent the Opinions of the Second Council of *Arles* to a *Predestinarian* Priest, named *Lucidus*, to oblige him to retract his Errors, and subscribe to the Doctrine of that Council: We have still his Letter to *Lucidus*, and the Answer of that Priest directed to the Bishops who met at *Arles*, wherein he declares, "That he condemns the Opinions of
" those who believe that Free-Will was
" altogether lost after the Fall of the
" First Man; That Christ died not for
" all Men; That some are designed for
" Death, and others for Life; That
" from *Adam* to *Christ*, no Heathen
" was saved by the First Grace of God,
" that is, by the Law of Nature, be-
" cause they have lost Free-Will in our
" First Father; That the Patriarchs,
" Prophets, and greatest Saints, have
" been

“ been in Paradise before the time of the
 “ Redemption. — This is almost an
 Abridgment of *Faustus's* Book.

Some learned Men have maintained
 that *Faustus* did more than he was or-
 der'd, and that many of those who as-
 sisted at the Councils of *Arles* and *Lyons*
 would not have subscribed to his Book.
 But 'tis hard to apprehend how a Bishop,
 who was very much esteem'd (as it ap-
 pears by the Letters of *Sidonius Apolli-
 naris*, Bishop of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*,
 who makes his *Encomium* in many places,
 and by *Gennadius*, who praises that
 Work,) 'tis, I say, somewhat hard to
 apprehend how he could have been so
 bold as to ascribe to a Council some
 Opinions which the greatest part of
 them would have abhorred, and that
 the Members of that Council should shew
 no resentment of it.

Indeed, those who say that *Faustus* did
 more than he was bid, give no reason
 for it, only they cannot believe that
 there was so many *Semi-Pelagians* in the
Gauls.

One

One may see in Bishop *Usher* the Judgment of several learned Men concerning *Faustus*, and whereof the greatest part do not much favour him. *Baronius* himself speaks ill of him; so that what happen'd formerly to the *Pelagians*, happens now-a-days to the *Semi-Pelagians*, viz. those who maintain their chief Doctrines, condemn them, only because some Men, who were more esteem'd than they, have formerly condemn'd them.

Faustus his Book * did not remain * *Usser. ubi*
unknown, seeing they brought it to *sup. c. 14.*
Constantinople, where the Minds were divided concerning the Doctrines which it contain'd. Some affirmed it was Orthodox, and others Heretical; as it appears by a Letter of *Possessor* an *African* Bishop, who was then at *Constantinople*, and wrote from thence to Pope *Hormisdas*, in the Year 520, to know what he thought of it. Some Persons of the greatest Quality, among which were *Vitalian*, and *Justinian*, who was since Emperor, desired to know the Opinions of the Church of *Rome* thereupon. *Hormisdas* disapproved *Faustus* his Book and referred them to those of St. Au-

Ge

gustine,

gustine, Of Predestination and Perseverance.

* Tom. 6.
Bibl. P. P.
Ed. Col.

There was then at *Constantinople* a Monk whose Name was *John Maxentius*, who wrote an Answer * to *Hormisdas's* Letter, wherein he compares the Opinions of *St. Augustine* and *Faustus*, and sharply censures *Possessor*, and those who maintained that *Faustus* his Book was Orthodox. It appears from thence that *Possessor* was a *Semi-Pelagian*, and consequently, that the Councils of *Africa* had not been yet able to bring all the Bishops of that Church to their Decisions.

The *Vandals* had invaded *Africa*, during the heat of the *Pelagian* Controversies; and because they were *Arian*, they turned out a great number of Bishops, who followed the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*.

Thrasamond King of the *Vandals* had sent Sixty of the *Byzacene* Province into Banishment to *Sardinia*. They were consulted from the *East* concerning the Controversies about *Grace*, rather to have a publick Declaration of their Opinions,

Opinions, than to be Instructed ; seeing those who wrote to them were already fixed in their Opinion, and condemned in their Letters not only the *Pelagians*, but the Books of *Faustus*.

Fulgentius Bishop of *Esfagues* answered in the Name of the others, and explained the Opinion of *St. Augustine*, in a Letter, and a private Book directed to *Paulus Diaconus*. The same *Fulgentius* wrote also some other Books concerning the same Matter. He had composed Seven Books against *Faustus* his Two *De Gratia & Libero Arbitrio*, but they are lost. Those *African* Bishops returned to their Churches in the Year 523, in which *Thrasamond* died, as we learn from *Victor of Tonneins*, in his Chronicle.

Fulgentius had confuted *Faustus*, before he departed from *Sardinia* ; from whence it follows, as well as from *Possessor's* Letter, that *Binius* should not have placed the Third Council of *Arles*, the Opinions of which *Faustus* had explained, in the Year 524. But this is not the only Fault he hath committed ; he hath corrected, or rather corrupted,

as he thought fit, a vast number, of Places in the Ancient Councils, without having any regard to Manuscripts: Wherefore

* *Ubi. sup.*
p. 231.

* Bishop *Usher* gives him the Title of *Contaminator Conciliorum*.

As *Hilary* and *Leontius*, Archbishops of *Arles*, had favoured *Semi-Pelagianism*; so *Cæsarius*, who succeeded *Leontius*, favoured what the Divines of *Marseilles* call'd *Predestinarianism*, that is, the Opinions of St. *Augustine*. The Second Council of *Orange* was held under his Direction, in the Year 529, which approved St. *Augustine's* Opinions, and whereof the Acts may be seen entire in † Bishop *Usher*. A little while after, another Council was held at *Valence*, concerning the same Matters, which did also condemn *Semi-Pelagianism*. *Boniface II.* approved the Acts of that Council, by a Letter which he wrote to *Cæsarius*, in the Year 531, which the same learned Primate of *Ireland* hath inserted in his Work.

† *Ubi. sup.*
p. 262.

Here ends the History of *Pelagianism* and *Semi-Pelagianism*, which notwithstanding was not extinguished in the *Gauls* and *England* by so many Endeavours

vours and Decrees of the Defenders of Grace, as may be seen by the *History of Godescale*, written by the same Bishop. What can one conclude from thence, according to St. *Augustine's* Principles, but that God was not pleased to bestow his Grace upon *Anathema's*, *Confiscations*, *Deposals* and *Banishments*, which the Godly Emperors and Holy Councils made use of against the Unfortunate *Pelagians*?

F I N I S.

